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Published on the Occasion of the Celebration of
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Bhagavān Mahāvīra

JAINA LITERATURE IN TAMIL

by

The Late Prof. A CHAKRAVARTI, M A., I E.S. (Retd)

with

An Introduction, Footnotes, Appendix and Index

by

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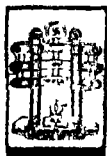
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SHRĪ MŪRTIDEVĪ

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General Editorial

'Jaina Literature in Tamil' by the renowned Tamil scholar, the late Prof. A. Chakravarti, M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.), was published as early as July, 1941 by the Jaina Siddhanta Bhavana, Arrah. This learned introduction to the contribution of the Jainas in the field of Tamil literature had been long out of print. The thought of having the book reprinted with the addition of up-to-date information and all necessary references had occurred to one of us more than a decade ago; and all along attempts were being made to find a suitable scholar who could be entrusted with this onerous task. It was only some two years ago that our friend Dr. G. S. Gai, Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore kindly suggested the name of Dr. K.V. Ramesh, serving as Deputy Superintending Epigraphist in his office, to whom this work was assigned. It was so good of Dr. Ramesh that, in the midst of his official duties, he was able to devote time and attention to this work. He has revised and enlarged Prof. Chakravarti's book by providing exhaustive footnotes containing additional information, references, bibliography, etc. He has also given, in an appendix, the texts of some published Jaina Tamil epigraphs besides providing an exhaustive index at the end. We are so thankful to him that he undertook this responsibility and discharged it quite satisfactorily. It is fondly hoped that this revised edition of the late Professor's pioneering work will be found useful by students and scholars interested in the

history of Jainism in South India and that it would prove a substantial aid for further studies in Tamil Literature.

The 2500th Nirvāṇa Anniversary of Bhagavān Mahāvīra is being celebrated from November 13, 1974 onwards for a period of one year. It is to mark this great event that the Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha is publishing the late Professor A. Chakravarti's 'Jaina Literature in Tamil' in its present revised form. Words are inadequate to express how much we feel obliged to the authorities of the Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, especially to its enlightened President, Shrimati Rama Jain, and to its benign Patron, Shri Sahu Shanti Prasadaji, for arranging the publication of this work. Our thanks are due to Shri Lakshmi Chandra Jain who is enthusiastically implementing the scheme of publications undertaken by the Jñānpīṭh

A. N. UPADHYE
November 13, 1974 KAILASH CHANDRA SHASTRI

INTRODUCTION

Apart from their distinctive *Ahiṃsā* doctrine in the field of religious thought and practice, the most lasting contributions of the Jainas to the wealth of our national heritage lie in the fields of literature and art and architecture. In particular, the role which Jaina scholars, poets and authors have played in enriching Prākrit and Sanskrit literature and grammar at the all-India level and as pioneers in the growth of Tamiḻ and Kannaḍa literature and grammar as far as South India is concerned is, it may be safely asserted, varied and, from a practical stand-point, highly utilitarian. Though the early literature of the Jainas is in Prākrit, in the different linguistic regions to which their missionary zeal had taken them in the distant past, they unhesitatingly adopted, as the media of their doctrinal preachings and instructions and their prolific writings, the different local dialects and languages which were being spoken in those regions. Thereby Jaina scholars have been able to make, through successive centuries and in a phenomenal measure, pioneering and lasting contributions to the growth of the various branches of literature in such regional languages as Rājasthānī, Hindī and Gujarātī in the north and Kannaḍa and Tamiḻ in the south.

The present work by Prof. A. Chakravarti being a learned introduction to Tamiḻ works written by Jaina authors, treating of their *kāvyas* and *mahākāvyas*, *purāṇas* and didactic and devotional poems, lyrics, tales, romances and allegories, their works on logic,

dialectics, ethics, politics, grammar, poetics and prosody, lexicon and medicine, it will not be out of place to trace here briefly the history of the advent, growth and decline of Jainism in Tamiḻnāḍu, based on the scanty historical evidence that is available.

The questions as to when exactly Jainism entered the Tamiḻ country and whether it did so through Āndhra or *via* Karnāṭaka are matters of mere academic interest. While the presence of Jainism in Ceylon as early as in the 4th century B.C. indirectly hints at the possible prevalence of that faith in the Tamiḻ country at that early period, on the strength of the credible tradition as recorded by Ratnanandi of the 15th century in his *Bhadrabāhu-carita* and by Dēvacandra of the last century in his *Rājāvaḷi-kathe*, it may be safely concluded that the Jaina faith had entered the Cōḻa and Pāṇḍya kingdoms at the latest by the 3rd century B.C. through the missionary activities of Viśākhācārya, the accredited disciple of Bhadrabāhu [1] "The spread of the faith in the south after Bhadrabāhu is attested by the presence of Jain vestiges in the natural caverns to which Jain ascetics resorted for their penance. Inside these caverns are 'beds' with 'pillows' cut on the floor and on their brows are long and deep 'driplines' scooped out to prevent rain water from running into the caverns. In some of these caverns, particularly in the districts of Trichinopoly including Pudukkottai, Madurai, Ramnad and Tirunelveli, there are also

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1. See P. B. Desai. *Jainism in South India* (Sholapur, 1957), pp. 25-27,

inscriptions"[1]. The fact that many, if not all of these early cave inscriptions which, as revealed by their palaeography, were written in Brāhmī characters during 3rd century B.C.-3rd century A.D., were caused to be engraved by the early Jainas of the Tamiḻ country affords historical support to the alleged antiquity of Jainism in Tamiḻnāḍu. The existence of Jaina *paḷḷis*, *śramaṇas* and their abodes in the Madurai-Tiruchirappalli region during this early period is clearly borne out by these inscriptions. Later inscriptions afford evidence that these caverns were occupied as late as the 12th century A.D.

The celebrated literary giant Kundakundācārya, who probably belonged to the 1st century A.D., is the earliest tangible historical personality in the annals of Tamiḻnāḍu Jainism. He is believed to have founded the Mūla-saṃgha;[2] tradition gives him the secondary name of Ēlācārya and attributes to him the authorship of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, revered by the Tamilians as the Tamiḻ *Vēda*.[3] The 2nd century A.D. saw Jainism making further strides in the Tamiḻ country through the efforts of another important Jaina scholar, Samantabhadra, 'one of those prominent Jaina *gurus* of early times who were responsible for the diffusion of Jainism in the Tamiḻ country'.[4] The *Kathākōṣas* of Prabhā-

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1. K R Venkatarama Ayyar: *Transactions for the Year 1957-58: Archaeological Society of South India*, pp. 24–25.

2. P B. Desai; Op. cit., p 55

3 See below, p. 29

4. B A. Saletore: *Mediaeval Jainism* (Bombay, 1938), p. 224; M S. Ramaswamy Ayyangar: *Studies in the South Indian Jainism* (Madras, 1922), p 44.

candrá (11th century) and Nēmidatta (16th century) describe him as the naked ascetic of Kāñci.

Pūjyapāda was yet another Jaina luminary and the credit of reviving Kundakundācārya's Mūla-saṃgha under the name of Drāviḍa-saṃgha in the 5th century A.D. with Madurai for its headquarters, goes to his disciple Vajraṇandi. "There is an account in the *Periyapurāṇam* of a host of 'Karnāṭaka Jainas' pouring into Madurai like a cloud-burst and uprooting the ruling dynasty ; this might have preceded the formation in that city of the Drāviḍa-saṅgha of the Jains by Vajraṇandi . . . . . The *Saṃgha* perhaps became a proselytising centre with branches all over the Tamiḻ country." It was in the 5th century (in 458 A.D.) that the *Lōkavibhāga*, a Digambara work in Sanskrit on Jaina cosmography, was copied by Sarvanandi in the village Pāṭalikā, i.e., modern Tiruppādirippuliyūr (South Arcot District)[2].

In the history of Tamiḻnāḍu, the first three centuries of the Christian era have come to be popularly known to students of history as the 'Saṅgam age' and it was during this age and in the three succeeding centuries that Jainism reached its zenith in the Tamiḻ country. It was during the post-Saṅgam age (4th-6th centuries A.D.), an otherwise historically dark period, that most of the 'Eighteen minor works' (*padineṇkīḻkkaṇakku*) and the *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* were written, many of them by Jaina authors. As for the prevalence

1 K R. Venkatarama Ayyar, *Op cit.*, p 25.
2 *Mys Arch Rep.*, 1909–10, p 45.

and popularity of Jainism in Tamiḷnāḍu during the Saṅgam age, N. Subramaniam says[1] "During the period lighted by the Saṅgam literature, we see as much of Jainism as of Buddhism but both are clearly subordinate to the indigenous practices of the Brahmanical Vēdic religion. There were in important cities like Puhār a concentration of Jains known as the *Śamaṇar* and their places of stay were called Śamaṇappaḷḷi or Amaṇappaḷḷi. Cāvakar, (a common designation of a Jaina layman)[2], a sect among Jainas, are mentioned in the *Maduraikkāñci*; they were householders observing religious observances; the lay Jains were called *Ulaga-Nōṉbigaḷ*. At Uṛaiyūr there was an Aruhaṉ temple called 'Śrī Kandappaḷḷi', also called 'Nikkandappaḷḷi' (*nikkanda = nirgrantha*, a Jaina)[2] or 'Nikkandakkōṭṭam' and the deity in the Uṛaiyūr Jaina temple was called 'Uṛaiyūr Śrī Kōil Nāyaṉār'. Nikkanda-kkōṭṭam was usually abbreviated as Kandakkōṭṭam and it was easy to confuse this, at a later period, with a Murugaṉ temple; the expression 'Kōṭṭam' usually associated with Jaina *Paḷḷis* will give away its origin, anyway . . . The Amaṇappaḷḷis were retiring or resting places of the Jaina anchorites and these places were surrounded by gardens full of flowering plants".

We learn from the *Maṇimēkalai* that the Jaina philosophical system was one of the subjects of study at Kāñcī, one of the most important centres of education in early South India[3].

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1. *Samgam Polity* (1966), p 367.
2. The contents within the brackets are mine [—K.V R.]
3. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri. *A History of South India* (III edn., 1966), p. 423.

In the post-Saṅgam period, particularly from the sixth century onwards, Jainism claimed, off and on and in varying degrees, the patronage of such powerful dynasties as the Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa. Pallava Siṃhavarman (550-60 A.D.) of Kāñcī and his son Siṃhaviṣṇu (560-80 A.D.) were great patrons of Jainism. The Paḷḷaṇkōvil copper-plate grant records[1] that Siṃhavarman gave away, in the sixth year of his reign, the village called Śramaṇāśrama or Amaṇśērkkai to the great ascetic Vajranandi of the Nandi-saṅgha at the holy place Vardhamānēśvarā-dharmatīrtha for the purpose of worshipping the groups of Jinēndra, Jainēndras and Munīndras. The mother of Siṃhaviṣṇu was an ardent Jaina devotee and, according to the Hosakōṭe plates of Western Gaṅga Avinīta, she got constructed a temple for the god Arhat for the glory of her husband's family. Pallava Mahēndravarman I (580-630 A.D.) and Pāṇḍya Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa Neḍumāṛaṇ (670-710 A.D.) were both Jainas by persuasion.[3] "Under royal support Kāñcī with the surrounding villages and Madurai with the surrounding hills teemed with a considerable Jain population, and the present day site of Jinakāñcī bears sufficient testimony to this"[4].

Nevertheless, Jainism did meet with stout opposition in Tamiḻnāḍu even from early times. "This was during the period of the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.

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1. *TASSI*, 1951-59, p 43 See below, Appendix, Inscription No. 5
2. *Mys. Arch Rep*, 1938, pp 80-90.
4 *TASSI.*, 1957-58, p 25.
3 P B Desai. *Op cit*, p 81.

to start with; and its opponents were the champions of the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite faiths of the Brahmanical religion. Almost simultaneously, under the leadership of Appar and Sambandhar, the advocates of the Śaivite school launched ruthless attacks against the adherents of the Jaina law and earned signal success in the Pallava and Pāṇḍya kingdoms. Pallava Mahēndravarman I and Pāṇḍya Neḍumāṟaṉ were converted to the Śaiva faith, the former by Appar and the latter by Sambandhar[1].

The movement aimed at curbing the popularity and further growth of Jainism in Tamiḻnāḍu, particularly in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom which had been practically permeated by Jainism in the 5th-6th centuries A.D., was spearheaded by the Śaivite *nāyaṉārs* Tirunāvukkaraśu or Appar and Tirujñānasambandhar and Vaiṣṇavite *āḻvārs* Tirumaḻiśai, Tirumaṅgai and Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi. Appar, a contemporary of Pallava Mahēndravarman I, was a Śaivite by birth but was drawn towards Jainism and he actually joined the Jaina monastery at Cuddalore, the South Indian Pāṭaliputra, as a monk. However, through the persistent efforts of his elder sister, he not only re-entered the fold of Śaivism but also succeeded in converting the Pallava emperor, till then a devout Jain, to the Śaiva faith. His younger contemporary Tirujñānasambandhar has the reputation of having vanquished all the Jaina scholars of Madurai, the Pāṇḍyan capital, and of having converted the Pāṇḍyan ruler, either Māṟavar-

1 *TASSI.*, 1957-58, p. 25

man Avanisūlāmaṇi (A.D. 620-44) or his grandson Arikēsari Māṟavarmaṉ (A.D. 670-700), till then a Jain, to the Śaiva faith. There is a tradition that the newly converted Pāṇḍyan ruler persecuted and impaled 8000 *Jainas at the instance of Tirujñānasambandhar and a* series of frescoes on the *maṇḍapa* of the famous Mīnākṣī temple tank at Madurai illustrates this gruesome event. Exaggeration apart, the *Periyapurāṇam* account of the saints and the hymns of Appar also make it evident that both in the Pallava and Pāṇḍya countries the Jainas were subjected to some degree of persecution in the 7th-8th centuries A.D. Of the *āḻvār* saints, Tirumaḻiśai, an elder contemporary of Mahēndravarman I, had for sometime been a follower of Jainism before he finally became an ardent Vaiṣṇava saint; Tirumaṅgai, who lived in the middle of the 8th century and Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi, who followed him a century later, included in their hymns attacks and invectives against Jainism[1].

This organised and sustained campaign conducted during the 7th-10th centuries did finally break all tangible resistance on the part of Jainism which lost much ground in Tamiḻnāḍu during the later part of Pallava and Pāṇḍya rule. Flourishing Jaina strongholds such as Pāṭaliputra (modern Tiruppāpuliyūr, Cuddalore), Āṟpākkam, Magaral and Madurai, lost their importance[2]. In the subsequent period, the Cōḻas, who were

1. See M. S. Ramaswami Ayyangar: *Studies in South Indian Jainism* (1922, Madras), pp. 67, 79; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri: *History of South India* (III edn., 1966), pp. 424 and 426.

2 *TASSI.*, 1957-58, p. 25.

ardent followers of Śaivism, were not inclined to actively support the cause of Jainism. It may, therefore, be concluded that from the 10th century onwards Jainism lost its importance in the Tamil country after having thrived as a great vehicle of faith and knowledge for centuries at a stretch. Nevertheless, as one scholar has rightly pointed out[1], even during the period of it decadence, Jainism retained its intellectual vitality as is borne out by the composition of many books on grammar, lexicon and astronomy besides the *Jīvaka-cintamaṇi*, which made its appearance sometime after the 8th century A.D.; and Pavaṇandi's *Naṇṇūl* was composed in the 13th century A.D. The occurrence of Jaina epigraphs right down to the 16th century A.D. at Tirupparuttikkuṇṛam, popularly known as Jina-kāñcī also attests to the fact that Jainism continued to be a religious force to reckon with atleast in some pockets in Tamiḻnāḍu for long after its overall popularity had waned.

In attempting to delineate briefly the chequered history of Jainism in Tamiḻnāḍu from the sixth century onwards, culling out and interpreting the information that is available from Jaina epigraphs, most of which find place in the appendix appearing at the end of this work, one can do no better than quote K.R. Venkatarama Ayyar[2].

"The vitality of Jainism was not exhausted, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava opposition notwithstanding. Jaina

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1. M S Ramswami Ayyngar *Op. cit*, p. 73.
2. *TASSI*, 1957-58pp. 25-28.

scholars enriched the Tamil language, they composed elegant poems, wrote books on grammar and prosody, compiled lexicons, and presented lofty ideals of ethics in pithy verses. This gave them quite a strong hold on the minds of the people until after the ninth century, by which time had grown up a vast literature of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. Both by example and precept monks and nuns in their monastic retreats influenced the lives of the people. Among such monastic centres were Chitral or Tiruccāṇūṟṟumalai (South Travancore) and Tirukkāṭṭāmbaḷḷi in Kuṟaṇḍi-Veṇbunāḍu (Madurai-Ramnad). Ajjaṇandi Aṣṭōpavāsi, Guṇasēna, Nāganandi, Guṇavīra and others of these establishments were teachers of eminence. An inscription in the Aiññūṟṟuva-peurmbaḷḷi (called after the merchant corporation, the 'Five Hundred') now in ruins at Tiruveṇṇāyil (now called Cheṭṭipaṭṭi in Pudukottai), built during the reign of Rājarāja I (985-1016), mentions Matisāgara, the guru of Dayāpāla and Vādirāja. Ammāchatram (Pudukottai) had more than one *paḷḷi*, and inscriptions mention two *ācāryas* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Choḷavandipurm (South Arcot) and Tirumalai and Tirakkōl (North Arcot) were other large centres mentioned in the inscriptions. At Tiruppāṇmalai (North Arcot) is an image of Nāganandi. Ariṣṭanēmi, a pupil of Paravādimalla, lived in Tiruppāṇmalai, where one of his pupils, the nun Paṭṭṭinattuk-kuratti opened a celebrated nunnery. In the large monastery at Veḍāl (North Arcot) misunderstanding arose among the monks on the one hand and the chief nun and her disciples on the other, and the intrepid nun took upon

herself the responsibility of running the feeding house attached to the monastery. Kirapākkam (Chingleput) was the centre of the Yāpanīya-saṅgha, Kumila-gaṇa. At Poṉṉūr (Sanskrit: Hēmagrāma or Svarṇapuri) Elācārya popularised the Jvālāmālinī (Vahnidēvatā) cult and built a temple for that goddess. His teachings were later codified by Indranandi in his *Jvālāmālinī-kalpa*. The Jinagiripaḷḷi at Ānandamaṅgalam (Chingleput) was a monastery of considerable importance, and so was Vaḷḷimalai where is enshrined the image of Dēvasēna, a pupil of Bhavanandin. A Munibhadra and Samantabhadra, disciples of Puṣpasēna, figure in the inscriptions from Karandai (North Arcot). The grammarian Maṇḍalapuruṣa and the prosadist Amitasāgara also deserve mention. And Jinakāñci (Tiruopparuttikuṉṟam) boasts of a line of *Ṛṣi-samudāya*, among whom the names of Mallisēna, Vāmana and Puṣpasēna are still cherished.

From the seventh century onwards, the Tamiḻ country was studded with temples to Śiva and Viṣṇu. The Pallavas, the Pāṇḍyas and then the Cōḷas set the lead by building new temples and richly endowing them. Since Jainism was no longer the faith of the ruling houses, the erection of *paḷḷis* and temples was mostly the work of the Saṅgha drawing what help it could from the State, the local assemblies and the merchant guilds. Tamiḻ kings on their part were neither slow nor parsimonious in their benefactions to their Jaina subjects. The Sittaṉṉavāśal Jaina cave temple, which was till lately believed to have been built by Mahēndravarman I, is now known to have definite

Pāṇḍya associations. The Candraprabha temple at Jinakāñcī was fostered by a Pallava king of the eighth or ninth century. Rājasiṃha II Pāṇḍya (900-920) endowed several *paḷḷiccandams*. Kundavai, sister of Rājarāja I, a princess remarkable for learning and charity alike, built two Jaina temples, one at Tirumalai and the other at Rājarājapuram (now called Dādāpuram) and these shared with the numerous Śiva temples that she built, costly presents of vessels and ornaments of gold, silver and pearls. Vīrāśōḷa, a Lāṭa vassal of Rājarāja I, remitted at the request of his queen, taxes payable by the Tiruppāṇmalaipaḷḷi. A *perumbaḷḷi* at Karandai was named after Vīrarājēndra-Cōḷa (1063-9) and another at Kuhur (Tanjore) after Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1120). Among the donors to the temple at Tirunaruṅgoṇḍai (South Arcot) were Virkamacōḷa (1128) and Vikrama Pāṇḍya (1187) and the Kāḍavarāyas of Śēndamaṅgalam, and those of Śiṟṟāmūr and Perumandūr (South Arcot) were the Śambuvarāya chiefs of the twelfth century An image at Tuḍiyūrmāmalai (Singipatti, Tirunelveli) was named after a minister of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II (1238-54) Pāṇḍya benefactions to the monasteries at Śaḍayappārai, near Pudukottai town, and at Nārttāmalai are also on record. The incursion of an Oriya force under Kapilēśvara Gajapati (1465) as far south as the Kāvērī left villages robbed and deserted, and temples of all the sects looted and closed. Sāḷuva Narasiṃha (1486-91) restored worship in all these temples including the Jaina temples, and exempted their lands from taxes The *jōḍi* imposed by the Vijayanagar agent Rāmappa Nayak hit temples hard,

and Kṛṣṇadēvarāya gave them relief by converting their lands into *sarvamānya*. Jinakāñci temples shared in the lavish endowments that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya (1509-29) made to religious institutions in the south. Acyutarāya's (530-42) gift to a Jaina temple at the request of Velur Bomma Nayaka (1532) also deserves notice.

That the grants of lands to jaina *paḷḷis* were considered as sacred and irrevocable as *dēvadānam* or *brahmadēyam* lands is proved by the careful exclusion of all *paḷḷiccandam* lands in sales or gifts of villages to Śiva or Viṣṇu temple or private individuals. Like Śiva and Viṣṇu temples, Jaina temples also held lands in absolute ownership (*tirunāmattūkkāṇi*) and also enjoyed lands made over for festivals (*tiruviḷāppuram*), *śivigaippuram*, etc.,) and for specified services (*tirupaḷḷi eḷucci*), etc. The *paḷḷiccandam* lands were demarcated by stones with triple umbrella carved on them (*tirumukkuḍaikkal*).

The establishment of Muslim rule in Madurai spelt the ruin of Jaina temples in common with those of the other sects. There was a partial revival under Vijayanagar rule: but the Nayak principalities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries neglected Jaina institutions, which succumbed to inanition. Except in a few villages and towns such as Jinakāñci, Śiṟṟāmūr, Tirumalai, and Kumbakōṇam, Jainism has practically disappeared form the Tamiḻ country."

The late Prof. Chakravarti's work which is now placed in the hands of the scholars in its revised and

enlarged version, ably succeeds in narrating the glorious contributions made by Jaina scholars in the field of Tamiḻ literature not only during the period of Jaina ascendancy in Tamiḻnāḍu but also in the subsequent centuries. Dr A. N. Upadhye, who had rightly felt that the work, published more than three decades ago, would be much useful as a source book if it is made up-to-date and if neccessary references are provided, kindly entrusted the pleasant task to me at the instance of my vocational teacher and guide Dr. G. S Gai, Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Upadhye and Dr Gai for the confidence they have reposed in me.

In providing references, I have not merely confined myself to those source books which the late Professor might have consulted at the time of writing his book but have also referred to subsequent publications. I have also given detailed information in the footnotes on some works, not mentioned by the author, which had subsequently been dicided upon as the creations of Jaina authors At the instance of Dr. Upadhye, I have also provided, as far as possible, exhaustive lists of different publications and editions with regard to each of the works discussed by Prof Chakravarti.

An important feature of this second edition is the inclusion of the texts of Tamiḻ Jaina inscriptions. All of them are already published in different publications and are brought together here for the first time. These epigraphs are not only an index to the antiquity and

popularity of Jainism in the Tamiḷ country but also contain many words and expressions of lexical interest, justifying the claim of scholars that Jainism has made distinct contributions to the growth of Tamiḷ language and literature.

I record my sincere thanks to the authorities of the Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, especially to its Secretary, Shri L. C. Jain but for whose personal interest this book would not have seen light so early as this. I also thank my friend Shri M. D. Sampath of the Institute of Kannada Studies, Mysore University, Mysore who has rendered me considerable help in correcting the proofs. My thanks are due to the Partners, Vidyāsāgar Printing and Publishing House, Mysore for their neat execution of the printing work.

In conclusion, I would like to add my voice to the hope expressed in the General Editorial that this revised edition of Prof. Chakravarti's 'Jaina Literature in Tamil' would prove 'a substantial aid for further studies in Tamil literature'.

Mysore
13-11-1974

K. V. RAMESH

PREFACE

(First edition)

Jaina authors have made remarkable contributions to the various domains of Indian literature in Sanskrit, Prākrit and other languages. The classical dignity and literary refinement which Tamil and Kannaḍa languages have reached are entirely due to the pioneer work of Jaina authors in the field. Jainism being a religion of pre-eminently humanitarian values, these authors have left behind a noble heritage for the benefit of the society through their literary productions.

In the following pages a modest attempt has been made to take a survey of Jaina contributions to Tamil literature. Prof A. Chakravarti is a great Tamil scholar; and there could not have been a better choice for this undertaking. This survey, we are sure, would be quite useful for preparing a systematic history of Tamil literature on the one hand and for a comparative study of Jaina literature in different languages on the other.

It was very kind of Prof. Chakravarti to have allowed the Editors to publish this excellent essay in the Jaina Antiquary; for this they are highly thankful to him. It is their earnest desire to publish similar monographs in English on the Jaina contributions to Sanskrit, Prākrit, Kannaḍa, Telugu, Hindi and Gujarati literatures with the co-operation of different specialists.

Thanks are due to Dr. Raghavan, Madras University, who kindly added diacritical points on Tamil words in the press-copy. The Table of contents and Index are added by Dr. A N. Upadhye hoping that they would heighten the referential value of the book.

Prof. A. Chakravarti Nayanar

A Biography

The late lamented Prof. Chakravarti was born in the year 1880. After passing his M.A. with distinction from the Christian College, Madras in 1905, he saw service for a year or two, first as teacher in the Wesley Girls' School and then as a clerk in the Accountant General's Office, Madras. He entered the academic field in 1906 when he was appointed Assistant Professor of Philosophy in the Presidency College, Madras. He became Professor in 1917 and in the course of over three decades of useful academic career he served with distinction in the Government Colleges at Rajahmundry, Madras and Kumbakonam before finally retiring from active service as Principal in 1938. In the same year the title of Rao Bahadur was conferred upon him in recognition of the meritorious service rendered by him in the fields of learning, research and education.

A pious Jaina *śrāvaka* and a deep scholar of Jainism, Prof. Chakravarti was also well-versed in the various schools of western philosophy and brought his wide learning and erudition to bear upon his studies of Jaina Philosophy. His introduction to the *Pañcāstikāya* (Arrah, 1920) is a valuable exposition of Jaina metaphysics and ontology. In 1937 he delivered Principal Miller Lectures which are published under the title 'Humanism and Indian Thought'.

The late Prof. Chakravarti has edited a number of Tamiḻ works by Jaina authors with their commentaries and, in some cases, with his learned exposition in English. For instance, Neelakesi, the text, and the commentary of Samaya Divākara Muni, along with his elaborate introduction in English, were published in 1936 (Madras); his edition of Tirukkuṛaḷ by Tēvar, along with the Tamil commentary by Kavirāja Paṇḍitar, has been published by the Bhāratīya Jñāna Pītha as No. 1 in their Tamiḻ series, with an English

introduction (Madras, 1949). Professor Chakravarti has also edited the Tirukkuṛaḷ with English translation and commentary and an exhaustive introduction which has been hailed as 'an indispensable aid to the study of Tirukkuṛaḷ'. He has also edited the *Mērumandira-purāṇam* in Tamiḻ. His 'Religion of Ahiṃsā', a learned exposition in English of some aspects of Jainism, is published by Shri Ratanchand Hirachand (Bombay 1957).

He has written a commentary in English on the *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda (Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, 1971). Based mainly on the Sanskrit commentary of Amṛtacandra, his exposition and his evaluation of the contents of *Samayasāra* have rendered the principles of Kundakunda intelligible to the modern world

Besides contributing an elaborate and scholarly essay on Jainism in the perstigious publication 'Cultural Heritage of India', Prof Chakravarti has contributed a number of essays and articles on Jainism, *Ahiṃsa* and contemporary thought to various other publications such as Philosophy of the East and West, Jaina Gazette, Aryan Path and Tamil Academy Some of his papers are reprinted in the 'Yesterday and To-day' Madras, 1946 He was a member of a number of Associations and Institutions in Madras

Prof Chakravarti's abiding interest in Jaina Tamiḻ literature prompted him to write 'Jaina Literature in Tamil' (Arrah, 1941), which highlights in a lucid way the noteworthy contributions made by Jaina authors to Tamiḻ literature Through the generous patronage of the Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, of which Prof Chakravarti was a wellwisher, this work is now being reprinted with the addition of useful references, index, an appendix of Tamiḻ Jaina epigraphs and an Introduction It is hoped that the present edition will serve the purpose of introducing to the world of scholars and rousing their interest in Tamiḻ works on different subjects by Jaina authors of yore so that the pioneering work done by the late Professor will pave the way for further research and studies on Jainism in the Tamil country.

JAINA LITERATURE IN TAMIL

A casual perusal of Tamil Literature will reveal the fact that, from the earliest times, it was influenced by Jaina culture and religion. It is a well-known fact that Jainism was a religion originated in Northern India and thus must be associated with Āryan culture. When the Jainas migrated to the South and how they came in contact with the original Tamilians are problems which still remain obscure. But some light may be thrown on these problems if we turn our attention to the fact that even from the earliest times of Āryan settlement in the Indus valley, there was a section among the Āryans which was opposed to the religion of sacrifice and which was standing by the doctrine of *ahiṃsā*. Even in the *Ṛgvēda* Hymns we have evidence to substantiate this proposition. The story[1] of Sunaḥśēpha, a Brahmin youth, who was released by Viśvāmitra from being sacrificed is an important fact. The conflict between the *Rājarṣi* Viśvāmitra and Vaśiṣṭha[2] probably represents the start-

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1 *Ṛgvēda Saṃhitā*, I-24-12/13, V-2-7; For an English rendering, see R T H. Griffith : *The Hymns of the Rigveda*, Vol I (1920), pp 31-32, 467; See also, *Vedic Index*, Vol II (1912), pp 311, 385-86, Winternitz *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol I (1927), pp. 213-16, P.V. Kane : *History of Dharmaśastra*, Vol II (1941), p. 35; *The Vedic Age* (1951), p. 285

2 Muir *Original Sanskrit Texts*, part I, pp 75 ff., *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, pp. 274-77 ; Weber *The History of Indian Literature* (1914), pp 37-38 , *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol I, *Ancient*

(Contd.)

ing point of a great conflict between the school of sacrificial ritualism led by *brāhmaṇa Ṛṣis* and the anti-sacrificial doctrine of *ahiṃsā* led by the *kṣatriya* heroes. Even in the *Ṛgvēda Saṃhitā* we have references to Ṛṣabha,[1] Ariṣṭanēmi[2], the former the first of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, and the latter the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara, a cousin of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

When we leave the period of the *Saṃhitās* and enter the second period known as the period of the *Brāhmaṇas*, we come across some interesting facts relating to this cleavage among the Āryans. About this time the Āryans migrated towards the Gangetic valley, and they built kingdoms and settled down in the countries of Kāśī, Kōsala, Vidēha and Magadha[3]. Āryans living in these countries were generally designated as the Eastern Āryans (*prācya*) as distinguished from the Western Āryans living in the Kuru Pāñcāla countries of the Indus valley. The latter looked down upon the Eastern Āryans as distinctly inferior to themselves in as much as they lost the orthodoxy

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India (1922), pp. 82-83, Winternitz *op cit*, pp 402-03; V Rangacharya. *Pre-Musalman India*, Vol II, *Vedic India*, Part I (1937), pp. 191-95, *The Vedic Age*, p 245

1 *Ṛgvēda Saṃhitā*, VI-16-47, VI-28-8, X-91-14, X-166-1; See *Vedic Index*, Vol I (1912), p 115, wherein it is stated that the word Ṛṣabha, occurring in the *Ṛgvēda* 'is the common name of the bull'.

2 *Ṛgvēda Saṃhitā*, I-89-6, I-180-10, III-53-17, X-178-1.

3. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol I, *Ancient India*, p 117; *The Vedic Age*, p 255

associated with the Kuru Pāñcāla Āryans.[1] The Orientalists suggest[2] that the Eastern Āryans in the Gangetic valley probably represent an earlier wave of invaders who were pushed towards the east by the later invading hordes who settled down in the Indus valley. It is necessary to hold some such view in order to explain certain fundamental differences between the sections. The *Brāhmaṇa* literature distinctly reveals the existence of poltical and cultural differences between the two groups of Āryans.[3] On several occasions, armies were led to the eastern country against the Eastern Āryans. But there are two or three important facts mentioned in the *Brāhmaṇa* literature which constitute interesting evidence as to the difference of culture. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* the orthodox *brāhmaṇas* of the Kuru Pāñcāla countries are warned about their treatment in the eastern countries of Kāśī, Kōsala, Vidēha and Magadha.[4] It is mentioned there

1 *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol I, *Ancient India*, pp 123-24

2 *Vedic Index*, Vol I, pp. 168-69 , *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, *Ancient India*, p 123 ; V. Rangacharya: *op. cit*, pp 349-50.

3 *The Vedic Age*, p 255

4 I am not aware of any such specific injunction in the *Śatapatha Brāhmana*. However, *Baudhāyana Dharmaśāstra*, *Mitākṣarā*, the commentary on *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* and *Āditya Purāṇa* speak of countries outside Āryāvarta, among them Kaliṅga in the east, as unfit for *Brāhmaṇas*. See P V. Kane · *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, part I, pp. 16 and notes and 18 and note ; *The Mahābhāṣya* (Bombay), Vol II (1906), pp. 119-20, III-2-115. See J. N. Samaddar. *The Glories of Magadha* (II edn., 1927), pp. 6 ff.

that it is not safe for the *brāhmaṇas* of the Kuru Pāñcāla countries to go to these countries of the east 'because Āryans in these countries have forgotten their *dharmas* of Vedic ritualism; not merely that they have given up the sacrifice but they have started a new *dharma* according to which non-sacrificing is itself real *dharma*. What kind of respect can you expect from such a lot of heterodox Āryans who have lost reverence to *dharma*? Not merely this, they have also lost touch with the language of the *Vēdas*. They cannot pronounce Sanskrit words with accuracy. For example, wherever *ra* occurs in Sanskrit words they can pronounce only *la*[1].

Again, in these eastern countries, *kṣatriyas* have attained social supremacy in as much they claim to be higher than the *brāhmaṇas*[2] Consistent with the social aggrandisement, the eastern Āryans led by the *kṣatriyas* maintain[3] that *Rājasūya-yāga* is the highest type of sacrifice as against the *Vājapēya* sacrifice which is the highest according to the orthodox Kuru Pāñcālas These are some of the reasons given why orthodox Kuru Pāñcāla *brahmaṇas* should avoid travelling in the eastern countries.

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1 *Śatapatha Brāhmana*, III-2-1-23 and 24. However, while writing on Jainism elsewhere, the author attributes (*The Cultural Heritage of India*, Calcutta, p 187) this statement on the language inferiority of the easterners to the *Vajasanēyi Saṃhitā*

2 *Vedic Index*, Vol I, p 204, note 11.

3 *Ibid*, Vol II, p 281

Again from an evidence in the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*[1] it may be inferred that on certain periods anti-ritualistic sections among the Āryans were more dominant and thus preached against Indra worship which did involve sacrifice. The persons who preached against Indra worship and anti-sacrificial ritualism are described as *yatıs* with clean-shaven heads. When Indra worship was revived once again by a powerful king, under the influence of the orthodox section, the revivalism led to the destruction of these *yatıs* whose heads were cut off and cast to the wolves. These facts given from non-Jaina lıterature are of great value in as much as they give us an inkling as to the antiquity of the religion of *ahiṃsā*.

Now turn to the Jaina literature. What do you find there? Of the 24 Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras beginning with Ṛṣabha and ending with Mahāvīra, all are from the *kṣatriya* clan. It is said that Lord Ṛṣabha, the first of the Tīrthaṅkaras, was the first to preach the doctrine of *ahiṃsā* and turn the attention of the thinkers to the realısation of Self or *ātman* by the path of *tapas* or *yōga*. Most of these Jaina leaders of religion are associated with eastern countries; Ṛṣabha from Ayōdhyā and Mahāvīra from Magadha and of the intervening 22 mostly from countries generally grouped

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1 *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, 8-1-4, 13-8-17, 14-11-28; Muir: *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 491-93; P.V. Kane: *op. cit.*, Vol.II, part I, pp. 418-19.

as Eastern Āryan countries.[1] The language in which the Jainas preached their message was not Sanskrit, but a dialect of Sanskrit in the form of Māgadhī Prākrit. The early sacred literature of the Jainas is mostly in Prākrit language evidently a spoken language of the masses in those days.[2] This liberal section of the Āryans evidently adopted this spoken language for the purpose of preaching to the masses their religious doctrine of *ahiṃsā*.

When we come down to the period of the *Upaniṣads* we see again the clash between the two different cultures : the sacrificial ritualism of the Kuru Pāñcālas and the *ātmavidyā* of the Eastern Āryans.[3] The Upaniṣadic doctrine of *ātmavidyā* is associated mainly with *kṣatriya* heroes, and scholars from the Kuru Pāñcāla countries are seen at the courts of these eastern kings,[4] waiting for the purpose of being initiated into the new wisdom of *ātmavidyā*. The Upaniṣadic world represents a stage at which these two sections were attempting to come to an understanding and compromise.

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1 Jaini *Outlines of Jainism* (1940), Table opp p 6; V Rangacharya (*op cit*, pp. 348-49) holds that Buddhism and Jainism were movements organised by the eastern *Kṣatriyas*.

2 Winternitz *op cit*, Vol II (1933), p 427.

3 Winternitz *op cit*, Vol. I (1927), pp 227-32; See *Vedic Index*, Vol 1, p 272 wherein it is argued that 'the home of the philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* was in the Kuru Pāñcāla country rather than in the east', but see below, p. 7, note 1

4 Macdonell *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (1925), pp. 213-14

King Janaka represents such a spirit of compromise and Yājñavalkya, an eastern Āryan scholar,[1] probably represents the force that effected the compromise and adjustment. The old sacrificial ritualism, instead of being discarded altogether, is retained as an inferior culture side by side with the new wisdom of *ātmavidyā* which is recognised as distinctly higher. Such a compromise, no doubt, was a victory to the orthodox section of the Āryans. But such a compromise must have been unacceptable to the members of the liberal school who must have stood aloof; that such was the fact is evidenced by a small instance mentioned in the Jaina *Rāmāyaṇa.* When there was a talk of Rāma's marriage mooted in Daśaratha's court one of the ministers suggested that Janaka's daughter Sītā would be the proper bride. But it was seriously objected to by many ministers who pointed out that Janaka was no more the follower of the doctrine of *ahiṃsā* in as much as he went back to the opposite camp. But it was finally decided that, from the political and military point of view, the alliance would be desirable in spite of this religious difference. This fact clearly suggests that Janaka was considered

1 The authors of the *Vedic Index* (Vol. II, p. 190) hold that the suggestion that Yājñavalkya was an eastern Āryan is not wholly acceptable However, Macdonell, one of the authors of the *Vedic Index*, says in his *History of Sanskrit Literature* (1925) that certain passages of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 'render it highly probable that Yājñavalkya was a native of Vidēha', which is an eastern country.

as one of the liberal Āryans till he changed side. It would not be far wrong to suggest that the Eastern Āryans who were opposed to the sacrificial ritualism and who were led by the *kṣatriya* heroes were believers in *ahiṃsā* doctrines and as such the forefathers of the Jainas. This liberal school created out of itself, about the time of Mahāvīra, another radical school led by another *kṣatriya* hero in the person of Gautama Śākya-muni, the founder of Buddhism. In the life of Gautama Buddha the Śākya clan to which he belongs is traced[1] to the Ikṣvāku dynasty which played a very important part in shaping the culture of ancient India. But even in Purāṇic Hinduism the services of the *kṣatriya* heroes are recognised in as much as they are elevated as *avatāras* of Viṣṇu for whom temples are raised and worship is conducted. It is strange that this doctrine of *ahiṃsā* should be preached by *kṣatriya* heroes who were generally associated with military exploits and who went about with bow and arrow.

How *ahiṃsā* came to be associated with them remains a mystery. But the fact that they were the founders of the doctrine of *ahiṃsā* is a fact which cannot be doubted That these *kṣatriya* leaders, wher-

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1 For a detailed discussion of the sources which trace the origin of the Śākya clan to the Ikṣvākus, see B C Law · *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India* (1924), pp. 162 ff. Also see *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, part I, pp 258-60 , *Mahāvaṃsa* (Ed Geiger), Chapter II, verses 1-24, *Viṣṇu Purāna* (Ed. Wilson), Vol IV, Chapter XXII, pp 167-72, *Mahāvastu* (Ed Senart), Vol. I, pp 348-52

ever they went, carried with them their fundamental doctrine of *ahiṃsā*, preached against animal sacrifice and promulgated vegetarianism are facts which every student of Indian History ought to acknowledge. In the drama *Uttararāmacarita* by Bhavabhūti this fact is well borne out in one of the scenes laid in Vālmīki's *āśrama*. Both Janaka and Vaśiṣṭha visit the *āśrama* as guests. When Janaka is entertained as guest he is given pure vegetarian food and the *āśrama* is cleaned and kept pure. But on the day when Vaśiṣṭha visits the *āśrama*, a fat calf is killed in honour of his visit. One of the disciples of the *āśrama* cynically asks a co-disciple of his whether any tiger had visited the *āśrama*; and the other rebukes him for his disrespectful references to Vaśiṣṭha. The former apologises and explains himself by saying that, 'because a fat calf did disappear, I had to infer that some carnivorous animal like tiger must have entered the *āśrama*,' over which the former offers the explanation that the *Rājarṣi* being a strict vegetarian must be entertained accordingly, whereas Vaśiṣṭha not being a strict vegetarian was entertained to suit his taste.[1] These facts clearly indicate the significance and potency of the *ahiṃsā* doctrine, and it is well reflected in Tamiḷ literature after the migration of the Jainas to the south and due to their participation in the creation of Tamiḷ literature. The early Jainas should have adopted the propaganda work of their

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1. Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacaritam* (Ed M R Kale, 1934, pp 99-103), Act iv, dialogue between Sandhyātaki and Daṇḍāyāṇa.

religion and hence they freely mixed with the aboriginal people of the land. This is again borne out by the fact of their friendly relations with the aboriginal people. The people of the land against whom the Āryans had to fight their way were called Dasyus, who, though described in uncomplementary terms elsewhere, are all described with a certain amount of respect in Jaina literature. To give one single illustration the monkeys and Rākṣasas who figure in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* are all described as *Vidyādharas* in the Jaina *Rāmāyaṇa*.[1] It is also clear from the Jaina literature that *kṣatriya* heroes belonging to the Āryan clan freely married the princesses from the *Vidyādhara* clan. Such a matrimonial alliance, most probably contracted for military and political reasons, must have paved the way for the introduction of the *ahiṃsā* doctrine among the original inhabitants of the land. Some such reason must be assumed as the cause for the migration of the people from the north to the Tamiḻ country and for introducing their culture, based upon *ahiṃsā*. The orthodox school of the Āryans must have appeared in the field of the Tamiḻ country much later as is quite clear from the fact of later Hindu revivalism which led to the downfall of Jaina supremacy in the South.

The migration of the Jainas to South India is generally supposed[2] to be at the time of Bhadrabāhu,

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1 Winternitz *op cit*, Vol II (1933), p. 491

2 The Bhadrabāhu-Candragupta tradition is of a fairly ancient origin The *Bṛhatkathākōśa* of Hariṣēṇa, a Sanskrit work of the 10th century, the *Bhadrabāhucarita* of Ratnanandi, (Contd.)

the *guru* of Candragupta Maurya. That at the approach of a terrible famine of twelve years in the North, Bhadrabāhu led a whole Jaina *Saṅgha* towards the Deccan, that he was followed by his disciple Candragupta who abdicated his throne in favour of his son and that they came and settled for sometime in the Mysore region that Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta lost their lives on Candragiri at Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa and the rest migrated to the Tamiḷ country are facts generally accepted by oriental scholars.[1] But, as I mentioned elsewhere, this could not be taken as the first approach of the Jainas towards the South. That the migration to the South must have been conducted with a hope of

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another Sanskrit work of the 15th century, the *Munivaṃśābhyudaya* of Cidānandakavi, a Kannaḍa work of the 17th century and the *Rājāvaḷikāthe* of Dēvacandra, another Kannaḍa work of the 19th century contain variant versions of this tradition. Some inscriptions in Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa (Hassan District, Karnataka State), ranging in date from the 7th to the 15th centuries A.D (*Ep. carn.*, Vol II, Nos 1, 31, 67, 166 and 258) and two 10th century inscriptions from the vicinity of Śrīraṅgapaṭṇa (*Ep Carn*, Vol III, Sr 147-48) contain references either to the migration of Bhadrabāhu to the South or to him and Candragupta as master and disciple

1 B L. Rice· *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions* (1909), pp 3–9, R Narasimhacharya *Ep. Carn.*, Vol II (1923), p. 9, M. S Ramaswami Ayyangar: *Studies in South Indian Jainism* (1922), part I, *South Indian Jainism*, pp. 19-24; P. B. Desai : *Jainism in South India* (1957), pp. 26-27. However, see *Ind Ant.*, Vol XXI, pp. 156 ff and *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol II, *The Age of Imperial Unity* (1951) where this tradition is held to be unacceptable.

hearty welcome from a friendly race for thousands of monks is the only reasonable suggestion. It is clear from the Hāthigumphā inscription[1] of Khāravēla that the Pāṇḍyan king sent shiploads of presents to King Khāravēla at the time of the latter's *rājyābhiṣēka*.[2] That Khāravēla was an important Jaina emperor[3] and that the Pāṇḍyan king was also the follower of the same religion[4] are facts independently borne out by the inscription and Tamiḻ literature. In connection with the Tamiḻ work called *Nālaḍiyār*, it is said[5] that eight thousand Jaina monks who came and settled in the Pāṇḍyan country on account of the famine in the north wanted to go back to their country, which the Pāṇḍyan prince did not like. Hence they all left in a body the Pāṇḍyan capital, one night, each recording a stanza on a palm leaf which was left behind. The collection of these individual stanzas constitutes a book

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1 *Ep Ind*, Vol XX, pp 71-89

2 The relevant part of the text (p. 80, text line 13) says that Khāravēla caused horses, elephants, jewels and rubies as well as numerous pearls in hundreds to be brought from the Pāṇḍya king There is no reference to Khāravēla's coronation and to 'ship loads' in that context

3 *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, *Ancient India* (1922), pp 64, 166, 223, P B. Desai *op. cit.*, p 17.

4 Khāravēla's inscription does not say that the Pāṇḍya ruler was a Jaina by faith Nor is it possible to deduce from available Tamiḻ Literature that the Pāṇḍya contemporary of Khāravēla was a Jaina.

5 *The Nālaḍiyār or The Four Hundred Quatrains in Tamil* (Ed. G. U. Pope, 1893), General Introduction, pp. viii-ix.

called *Nālaḍiyār* ; and this tradition is generally accepted in the south both among the Jainas and the non-Jainas. This fact also supports the view that even before the migration of Bhadrabāhu there must have been Jaina princes in the Tamiḷ land. This naturally creates a problem as to the exact period of the migration of the Jainas to the Tamiḷ land and what occasioned this. But it is enough for our purpose if we maintain that the introduction of Jainism in the south must be somewhere prior to the 4th century B. C.[1] This view is in conformity with the conclusions obtained by the Tamiḷ scholars after careful research. Mr. Sivaraja Pillai in his *Chronology of the Early Tamils* writes[2] about the early Tamilians : "Before their contact with the Āryans, Dravidians, as I have elsewhere pointed out, were mainly engaged in buildng up material civilisiation and securing for themselves the many amenities of life, individual and communal. Naturally, therefore, their lives took on a secular colour and came to be reflected as such in the literature of that period. The impulse of religion, which came to possess them at a later period, was then absent. And when the first infiltration of the Āryans began, the Jains and Buddhists

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1 P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar: *History of the Tamils* (1929), p. 246, P. B Desai: *op. cit.*, pp 25-26; M. S Venkataswamy. *Śamaṇamum Tamiḷum* (1959), pp 36-40.

2 K. N. Sivaraja Pillai · *Chronology of the Early Tamils* (1932), pp. 15-19.

seem to have been the earlier batch, all facts and traditions considered. These heretical sects finding in the Tamiḷ land no Brahmanic religion on any scale to oppose had to contend themselves with the composition of works mostly ethical and literary. The Tamils too seem to have taken themselves readily to this impulse which ran in the direction of their national bent, and the second period accordingly was throughout ethical and literary in substance and tone and seems to have been ushered in by the writing of such works as the *Kuṟaḷ*, *Tolkāppiyam*, etc. The Hindu Āryans were the last to come, and with their arrival was opened quite a new channel of national activity into which the whole of Dravidian life and thought have flowed since."

We cannot talk of Tamiḷ literature without reference to what is known as the 3 *Saṅgams*. Tamiḷ literature, especially the latter one, refers to the 3 *Sangams* or Academies under whose guidance Tamiḷ literature was cultivated.[1] The story of the *Saṅgam* is shrouded in a good deal of mythology. In the earlier works supposed to be *Saṅgam* literature the several collections such as the 8 collections, the 10 idylls etc., there is no reference to *Saṅgam* literature.[2] The modern oriental scholars rightly conclude that the

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1 V R Ramachandra Dikshitar *Studies in Tamil Literature and History* (1930), pp 15-19, K N Sivaraja Pillai : *op cit.*, pp 19-20, U V Swaminatha Iyer *Śaṅgattamiḷum Piṟkālattamiḷum* (1934), pp 18-20, M Rajamanikkanar. *Tamiḷmoḻi Ilakkiya Varalaṟu* (1963), pp 35-42

2 K N Sivaraja Pillai *op. cit.*, pp. 25.

whole tradition is fictitious and was created by some fertile imagination.[1] The same author Mr. Sivaraja Pillai, referred to above, after an elaborate discussion about the *Saṅgam* tradition, writes thus[2]—

"Reasons so many and substantial as these should lead any fair-minded scholar to reject the Saṅgam tradition as entirely apocryphal and not deserving of any serious historical consideration. It will, however, furnish a chapter in the study of myths and the psychological tendencies of the age in which it arose. Though worthless as testifying to any objective facts of Tamil history, the tradition itself claims our notice as a phenomenon of a certain type at a particular period of a nation's thought. I strongly suspect whether the eighth century tradition is not after all a faint reflex of the earlier Saṅgam movement of the Jains. We have testimony to the fact that one Vajranandi a Jain Grammarian and Scholar and the pupil of Dēvanandi Pūjyapāda, an accomplished Jaina Sanskrit Grammarian, in the Kanarese country, of the sixth century A.D., and the author of a grammatical treatise, 'Jainēndra', one of the eight principal authorities on Sanskrit Grammar, went over to Madurā with the object of founding a Saṅgam there. Of course, that 'Saṅgam' could not have been anything else than a college of Jain ascetics and scholars engaged in a religious propaganda of their own. This movement

1. See M. S. Ramaswami Ayyangar. *op cit.*, pp. 161-66, App. c : *The so-called Saṅgam Age.*

2. K. N Sivaraja Pillai *op cit.*, pp 26-27.

must have first brought in the idea of a Saṅgam to the Tamil country. It is more than likely that, following closely the persecution of the Jains ruthlessly carried out in the 7th century A. D., the orthodox Hindu party must have tried to put their own house in order and resorted to the creation of Saṅgams with divinity too playing a part therein, for the purpose of adding to the authority and dignity of their literature. It was the sacerdotal 'Saṅgam' of the early Jains that most probably supplied the orthodox party with a clue for the story of a literary Saṅgam of their own on that model. The very name 'Saṅgam', unknown to the early Tamils, proclaims its late origin and to attempt to foisting the idea it signified on the so-called Saṅgam literature as its inspiring cause is little short of perpetrating a glaring and absurd anachronism."

The only thing that I want to add to this is the existence of the *Drāviḍa Saṅgha*, otherwise known as *Mūla Saṅgha*, about the first century B. C. at the southern Pāṭaliputra, identified with modern Tiruppāppuliyūr, a suburb of Cuddalore [1] This *Drāviḍa Saṅgha*

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1 See *Ep. Ind*, Vol XIV (1917-18), p 334, P. B Desai (*op cit*, pp 48-49) says "Pāṭaliputra in the South Arcot Dt was another center of Jaina preceptors The Digambara Jaina work named *Lōkavibhāga* which was rendered into Sanskrit by Siṁhasūri contains a reference to the effect that it was written (possibly in Prakrit) by Muni Sarvanandi in Śaka 380 or A D 458 at a place called Pāṭalikā in Pāṇa Rāṣṭra This Pāṭalikā has been identified with Pāṭalipura, Pādirippuliyūr or Tiruppāppuliyūr, a suburb of Cuddalore in South Arcot Dt It is believed that there existed the Drāviḍa Saṁgha in this place about the 1st century B.C "

was presided over by Śrī Kundakundācārya, a great Jaina teacher who is held in high veneration by the Jainas all over India. The attempt by Vajranandi to revive the Tami] *Saṅgam* in Tamil Nāḍu[1] implies rather the downfall of the earlier *Mūla Saṅgha* associated with Śrī Kundakundācārya. This fact is mentioned merely for the information of research students who may be interested in the chronology of the Jaina influence in the Tamil land. One rather interesting fact which deserves to be mentioned, in this connection, is the reference to the Prākṛta language and its prevalence in all countries. The collection of *sūtras* supposed to be the remnants of the great grammatical

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1 Dēvasēna, in his *Darśanasāra*, written in 853 A.D., says that Vajranandi, the pupil of Śrī Pūjyapāda, founded the Drāviḍa *Sangha* in Mathurā in the South in V E. 525 =468-69 A.D —

> *Siri-Pujjapāda-sīso Dāviḍa-Saṃghassa-kārago duṭṭho* ।
> *nāmeṇa Vajjanaṁdī pāhuḍa-vedī mahāsatto* ॥
> *paṃca-sae chaüvīse Vikkamarāyassa maraṇa-pattassa* ।
> *dakkhina-Mahurā-jādo Daviḍa-saṃgho mahāmoho* ॥

(See *JBBAS*, Vol. XVII, part I, No. xlvi, p. 74, P. T Srinivasa Iyengar : *op. cit.*, p 247)

It has been suggested elsewhere [T V. Sadasiva Pandarattar: *A History of Tamil Literature* (250-600 A D.), 1957 (Tamil, pp. 26-27)] that three works, *Narivïruttam*, *Elivïruttam* and *Kiḷivïruttam*, the first one mentioned by the Śaiva saint-poet Tirunāvukkaraśu and the next two mentioned by his contemporary, Tirujñāna-Sambandar, may be assigned to about the 5th century A.D , and that they were, in all probability, written by Jaina authors who belonged to the Jaina *Saṅgha* established at Madurai by Vajranandi

work of Agastya contains a section on northern languages, the Sanskritic languages Here, after referring to Sanskrit and Apabhramśa, it speaks of 'Pāhatam' as a language used by all the countries.[1] On a former occasion we had to refer[2] to the fact of Prākṛta being specially associated with the Jaina leaders of thought in the North. A reference to this in the Tamiḻ grammar as a language spoken all over the land is a very significant fact in as much as it would imply the early introduction of Prākṛta literature and the migration of Prākṛta-speaking people into the Tamiḻ land. Another relevant fact is the description of *vaḍakkiruttal* or *sallēkhanā* found in some of the so-called *Saṅgam* collections.[3] This *vaḍakkiruttal* is said to be practised by some kings who were followed by their friends. An important religious practice associated with the Jainas is known as *sallēkhanā* When a person, suffering from illness or otherwise, realises that death is at hand and that it is no use to waste time in drugging the body he resolves to spend the rest of his life in meditation and prayer. He no more accepts food or medicine till the end of life. This practice is called *sallēkhanā* and a reference to this is found in the earliest Tamiḻ collections where it is spoken of as *vaḍakkiruttal.*

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1. *Śentamiḻ* (Madurai), Vol VIII (1909-10), p. 471, *Peragattiyām*, *Vaḍapadappadalam* *Pakatam* is described therein as '*ellā naṭṭilum iyalvadu*', i e 'current in all countries'

2 *The Cultural Heritage of India* (Ramakrishna centenary Memorial Volume), Vol. I, p. 187

3 *Puṟanāṉūṟu* (Ed by U. V Swaminatha Iyer, 1894), *Puṟams* 65-66, 191, 214, 218-20, 223, 236, *Śirupañcamūlam*, 73

There is some doubt as to the derivation of this word, though the significance is quite clear.[1] All these facts taken together constrain us to believe that we have traces of Jaina influence discernible even in the earliest Tamil literature extant, not to speak of the Jaina contributions to the literature with which we are directly concerned.

1. Tolkāppiyam[2]—This authoritative work on Tamil grammar is supposed to be written by a Jaina

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1 M.S Venkataswamy (*op cit*, p 182) is of the opinion that *vaḍakkiruttal* is merely the Tamil equivalent of *sallēkhanā*. According to him the term originated from the fact that, since all the Tīrthaṅkaras ended their worldly existence in the north, the Jainas, at the time of observing *sallēkhana*, faced the holy north and hence the term *vaḍakkiruttal* (*vaḍakku*= north, *iruttal*= seated or lying) Also see N Subramanian · *Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index* (1969), p 729: "*Vaḍakkiruttal* The penance of starving facing the north and self-immolation by slow starvation".

2 The following are some of the editions, either in full or in part, of *Tolkāppiyam* and research treatises on that work ·-

(i) *Colladikāram* with Naccinārkkiniyar's commentary—Ed. by C.V Damodaran Pillai, Nandana (1892);

(ii) *Tolcāpyam* with Naccinārkkinier's commentary—Ed by S. Bavanandam Pillai, Vols I and II (1916) and Vols. III and IV (1917),

(iii) *Eḷuttadikāram* with Naccinārkkiniyar's commentary—Ed by T. Kanakasundaram Pillai, 2nd Edn. (1933);

(iv) *Eḷuttadikāram* and *Colladikāram*—Ed. by Namachchivaya Mudaliar (1922);

(v) *Poruḷadikāram*—English translation by R. Vasudeva Sarma (1933);

(Contd.)

scholar. The fact is disputed by some scholars and various views[1] are entertained as to the religion of the author. We shall merely state some of the facts of internal evidence and leave it to the reader to judge for himself. Though it is a work of grammar, it contains a mine of information about the social polity of the early Tamilians; and research scholars are mainly dependent upon this work for information relating to the customs and manners of the early Tamilians. It has not been fully availed of by students of historical research. It is supposed to be based on earlier works on grammar such as *Aindra* which probably refers to a system of Sanskrit grammar. This is considered to be an authoritative work on grammar, and all later writers in Tamil language faithfully conform to the rules of diction enunciated therein. The author of this work, *Tolkāppiyam*, was supposed to be a student

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(vi) *Colladikāram* with Śēnāvaraiyar's commentary—Ed by Arumuga Navalar (1934),

(vii) *Eluttadikāravārāyccı* by V Venkatarajulu Reddiyar (1944);

(viii) *Colladikāram* with an English commentary by P S Subrahmanya Sastri (Annamalai University Tamil Series, No. 9, 1945),

(ix) *Porulladikāram* with Naccinārkkiniyar's commentary—Ed by K Sundaramurti (1965)

1 See K Vellaivarananar. '*Tolkāppiyam*', pp 159-72 for the differing views of scholars on the religious leanings of the author of *Tolkāppiyam*.

of Agastya, the mythical founder of Tamiḻ literature.[1] It contains a preface by a contemporary author, Panampāraṉār, who certifies that the *Aindiram-niraiñca Tolkāppiyam, i.e.*, the *Tolkāppiyam* full of the *Aindra* grammar system, was read in the Pāṇḍyan assembly and approved by Adaṅkōṭṭāśāṉ.[2] Dr.Burnell maintains[3] that the author of the *Tolkāppiyam* was a Buddhist or Jaina and that he is one of the unquestionably old Tamiḻ authors. In the same preface of Panampāraṉār, Tolkāppiyar is referred to as the "great and famous *Paḍimaiyōṉ*".[4] The word *Paḍimaiyōṉ* is explained by the commentator as one who performs *tapas*.[5] It is well known to students of Jaina literature that *Pratimā-yōga* is a Jaina technical term and some Jaina *yōgis* were spoken of as *Pradhāna-Yōgadhāris*. On this basis,

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1 The prefatory verses of *Paṉṉirupaḍalam*, *Puṟapporuḷ-veṇbāmālai* and *Agapporuḷ-viḷakkam* make this claim For relevant quotations, see K N. Sivaraja Pillai : *Agastya in the Tamil Land*, p. 47.

2. The relevant lines read :

nilan- taru tiruviṟ-Pāṇḍiyaṉ avaiyattu aṟaṅgaṟai nāviṉ nāṉ-maṟai muṟṟiya Adaṅkōṭṭāśāṟku ariltapatterittu

See, also, S. Vaiyapuri Pillai : *Tamiḻ-ccuḍarmaṇigaḷ* (1949), p. 1

3. *The Aindra System of Sanskrit Grammar* (1875).

4. '*Pal-pugaḻ-niṟutta Paḍimaiyōṉ*'

5. The commentator Iḷampūraṇavaḍigaḷ explains *Paḍimaiyōṉ* as '*tavav-oḻukkattiṉaiy-uḍaiyōṉ*', *i. e.*, 'he who observes the norms of *tapas*'. *Pratimā* is a Jaina technical term. It refers to the stages of religious life of a pious householder. There are eleven *Pratimās*.

scholars like S. Vaiyapuri Pillai[1] infer that the author of *Tolkāppiyam* was a Jaina by religion. The same author strengthens his conclusion by quoting the *sūtras*[2] from *Tolkāppiyam* referring to the classification of *jīvas* according to the sense-organs possessed by the *jīvas*. In the section called *Marabiyal*, *Tolkāppiyam* speaks of *jīvas* with one sense, such as grass and trees, *jīvas* with two senses such as snails, *jīvas* with three senses such as ants, *jīvas* with four senses such as crabs and *jīvas* of five senses, such as higher animals and *jīvas* with six senses such as human beings. It is not necessary for me to point out and emphasise the fact that this forms a philosophical doctrine of Jaina thought. This classification of *jīvas* is found in all the important Jaina philosophical works both in Sanskrit and Tamil Works, such as *Mērumandira-purāṇam* and *Nīlakēśi*, two of the important Jaina philosophical works, contain description[3] of *jivas* in this manner. It is but natural to conclude that this refers to the Jaina conception of life, and it goes without saying that the author was well-versed in Jaina philosophy. There is one other fact, not noticed by the research students, which must also be considered as an important evidence in favour of this conclusion.

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1. *Śentamiḻ*, Vol. XVIII (1919-20), p 339, S Vaiyapuri Pillai *op. cit*, pp. 7-11. Also see M. S Ramaswami Ayyangar : *op cit.*, p. 39, footnote 3.

2. The *sūtras* quoted by Vaiyapuri Pillai are *Marabiyal*, 27-33

3. *Mērumandira Purāṇam*, *Vaccirāyudanaṇuttam*, 10, 11 ; *Neelakeśi* (Ed by A. Chakravarti, 1936), p 139

In another *sūtra* in the same *Marabiyal*, *Tolkāppiyam* introduces the classification of literary works, according to Tamil tradition, into *mudal-nūl* and *vaḷi-nūl*, primary and basic work and secondary and derivative work. When he defines 'primary and basic work', *mudal-nūl*, he speaks of *mudal-nūl* as that which is revealed by the Lord of *Jñāna* obtained after complete liberation from *karmas*,[1] *i.e.*, knowledge revealed by Sarvajña after *karmakṣaya*. It is not necessary to emphasise the fact that, according to Jaina tradition, almost every writer would trace the first source of his information through his previous *ācāryas* and through *gaṇadharas* to the Tīrthaṅkara himself propounding his *dharma* in the *Samavasaraṇa*. But to every unbiased student who is acquainted with this Jaina tradition it would be clear that the reference contained in this definition of the basic work is distinctly a reference to Sarvajña-Vītarāga as the fountain source of all knowledge. From all these it would be clear that the view that the author was a Jaina is more probable than the opposite view. The persons who tried to reject this suggestion have cited no serious argument in support of their view. One critic refers to the fact that such a classfication of *jīvas* as is contained in this work is also contained in an obscure *tantra* work. But the verses referred to are not fully quoted. Even granting for argument's sake that it is referred to in that *tantra* work, it will be of doubtful value as an

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1 *Viṉaiy-nīṅgi viḷaṅgiyav-aṟiviṉ Muṉaivaṉ kaṇḍadu mudaṉūl-āgum* [*Tolkāppiyam*, 649].

evidence. Here it is necessary to point out that this classification of *jīvas* based on sense-organs is not found in any of the other *darśanas* or systems of Indian thought. It is peculiar to Jaina philosophy and Jaina philosophy alone. We may leave further discussion of this point to other competent scholars interested in such research. It is enough for us to note, at this stage, that the composition of this work on grammar, one of the earliest Tamiḷ works, was probably by a Jaina author who was equally well-versed in Sanskrit grammar and literature. As to the exact age at which it was composed there is a good deal of controversy,[1] and we need not enter into that discussion for the present.

This grammatical treatise consists of three great chapters *Eḷuttu*, *Śol* and *Poruḷ*—letters, words and meaning respectively. Each chapter consists of nine *Iyals* or sections. On the whole it contains 1612 *sūtras*. This forms the foundation of the later grammatical

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1. V R. Ramachandra Dikshitar *op cit*, pp. 132-35. For a well documented and convincing argument for assigning Tolkāppiyaṉār to the 4th-5th century A D, see S. Vaiyapuri Pillai : *Tamiḷ-ccuḍarmaṇigaḷ* (1949), pp 27-39 In an equally painstaking dissertation K N Sivaraja Pillai arrives at the conclusion (*Chronology of the Early Tamils*, App. XV, 258-65, *The Age of Tolkāppiyam*) that the author of that work could not have lived earlier than the 6th century A D Among recent opinions expressed on the subject, that of M Rajamanikkanar (*Tamiḷ-moḷi Ilakkiya Varalāṟu*, 1963, p. 84) would place Tolkāppiyaṉār in about 300 B. C

works in the Tamiḻ language. Unlike the Sanskrit grammar or *vyākaraṇa* which has the 1st and 2nd alone, this contains three chapters, the third being on *poruḷ*. This 3rd chapter contains a lot of extra-grammatical matter dealing with love and war, and thus offers many useful suggestions for reconstructing the history of the early Dravidians.

It is said that there are five commentaries on this treatise written by

1. Iḷampūraṇar
2. Pērāśiriyar
3. Sēnavaraiyar
4. Naccinārkkiniyar
5. Kallāḍar

The first is the oldest of the commentators and is generally referred to as 'The Commentator' by the later ones.

This great work of Tamiḻ grammar is assigned by tradition to the second *Saṅgam* period.[1] We know that all the existing Tamiḻ works are generally assigned to the last and the third *Saṅgam* period. Hence this *Tolkāppiyam* must be assumed to be anterior to practically the whole of the existing Tamiḻ literature. This would be a curious tradition to be accepted, for it is not likely that a work of grammar would precede all the other works in a particular language. As a matter

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1. *Iṟaiyanāragapporuḷ* with Nakkīraṉār's commentary (Ed. by C. V. Damodaran Pillai, Vikāri), p.5.

of fact, grammar is but a science of language codifying the literary usages and as such must presuppose the existence of a vast literature in that particular language. Even the Tamiḻ grammarians have recognised this fact in as much as they speak of 'literature first and grammar second'. Hence if we are to accept the tradition that *Tolkāppiyam* belongs to the period of the middle *Saṅgam*, we have to assume a vast literature prior to that, now somehow lost completely. Such a supposition would not be altogether improbable, if we call to our mind the condition of the early Dravidian civilisation. About the time of Aśōka, the Tamiḻ land consisted of three great kingdoms, Cēra, Cōḻa and Pāṇḍya. Aśōka does not refer to having subdued these kingdoms. They are mentioned in the list as friendly states around the Aśōkan empire.[1] That the Tamiḻ land contained excellent harbours,[2] carried a flourishing sea-borne trade with the European nations around the Mediterranean basin,[3] that the Tamiḻ language contributed important words to foreign vocabulary[4] and that Roman gold coins indicating contact with the Roman empire are found in various places in the Tamiḻ country[5] are all facts well known to students

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1 Radhagovinda Basak *Aśokan Inscriptions* (1959), p 5

2 P T Srinivasa Iyengar *op cit*, pp 189, 293-300

3 P T Srinivasa Iyengar. *Ibid*, pp 36-43, 96-102, 129-34, 192-206, 301-21

4. Caldwell *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* (1915), pp 89-91, S Vaiyapuri Pillai: *History of Tamil Language and Literature* (1956), pp. 8-10.

5. *JRAS*, 1904, pp 623-34, *Ancient India* (Archaeological Survey of India, 1949), No. 2, pp 118-19, 121.

of history. This, taken together with the recent explorations and discoveries in Mohenjodaro and Harappa, reveals a civilisation prior to that of the Āryans[1] and gives us an idea of the high state of civilisation that must have been attained by the early Dravidians. For the present all these would remain in the field of speculation till we come across sufficient evidence to reconstruct this early Dravidian culture. Since the extant Tamiḻ literature is said mainly to belong to the 3rd *Saṅgam* period, most of the works that we are going to consider must be assigned to this period. This would probably mean from 2nd century B. C. to the 7th century A. D. Since the institution of the *Saṅgam* or Academy is taken to be a doubtful entity, the term *Saṅgam* is merely used as a conventional term to indicate a certain period in the history of the Tamils.

The classification of Tamiḻ literature into three distinct periods, *viz*., natural, ethical and religious suggestedby Mr Sivaraja Pillai[2] may be taken as a convenient frame-work, since it broadly represents the historical developments of Tamiḻ literature. Some of the ethical works such as the *Kuṟaḷ* and *Nālaḍiyār* are freely quoted in the later literature. Hence it could not be altogether a mistake if we suppose that ethical literature seems to be earlier than the *kāvya* literature. In this group of ethical literature, the influence of Jaina teachers is

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1. There is no unanimity among scholars on whether the Indus Valley (Harappa and Mohenjodaro) Civilisation is pre-Āryan, Āryan or Dravidian.

2 K. N Sivaraja Pillai . *op. cit.*, pp 8-10.

prominently felt. The two great works, *Kuraḷ* and *Nālaḍiyār*, were the work of Jaina teachers who settled down in the Tamiḻ country.

Kuraḷ[1]—The ethical work called *Kuraḷ* is a most

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1. The following are the editions, either in full or in part of *Tirukkuraḷ* :-

(i) *Tirukkuraḷ*, 11-20 *adikārams*—Ed by U Pushparatha Chettiyar, Madras, 1868,

(ii) *Tirukkuraḷ*, text - Ed by U Pushparatha Chettiyar, Madras, 1868;

(iii) *Tirukkuraḷ* with Śaravaṇapperumāḷaiyar's commentary—Ed. by Karunananda Swamigal and Kesava Mudaliyar, Madras, 1869;

(iv) *Nūṟukuraḷ* (100 select *kuraḷs*)- Ed by H W. Lorry, Madras, 1870 and 1876,

(v) *Tiruvaḷḷuvariṉ Kuraḷ*, text and commentary—Ed. by R M Babu, 1870,

(vi) *Tirukkuraḷ* with *Padavurai*, 31-40 *adikārams* with English translation, 1873,

(vii) *Tirukkuraḷ*—Ed by Itta Kuppusami Nayudu, Madras, 1873,

(viii) *Kuraḷ* (*Aṟattuppāl* and *Poruṭpāl*), text and commentary—Ed by E F Hobusch, Tarangampadi, 1873,

(ix) *Tirukkuraḷ*, text and commentary—Ed by Veera sami Pillai, 1875;

(x) *Tirukkuraḷ*, text and commentary—Ed by Ponnusami Mudaliyar, 1884,

(xi) *Tirukkuraḷ*—Ed by Subbaraya Chettiyar, Madras, 1885,

(xii) *Tirukkuraḷ* with Parimēlaḷagar's commentary—Ed by Murugesa Mudaliyar, Madras, 1885,

(xiii) *Tirukkuraḷ*, text—Ed by A Ramaswami, Madras, 1886,

(xiv) *The Sacred Kurraḷ*, text—Ed. with Translation by G U Pope, London, 1886;

(Contd.)

important work in Tamiḻ literature, judged from its popularity among the Tamiḻ speaking people. It is composed in the form of couplets known as *Kuṟaḷ-veṇbā*, a metre peculiar to the Tamiḻ literature. The term *kuṟaḷ* means 'short' as opposed to the other type of *veṇbā* which is also a metre peculiar to the Tamiḻ litrature. The book derives its name *Kuṟaḷ* from the metre employed in its composition. It is a work based on the doctrine of *ahiṁsā*; and throughout, you have the praising of this *ahiṁsā-dharma* and the criticism of views opposed to this. The work is considered so important by the Tamils that they use various names to designate this great work, such as *Uttaravēda*, *Tamiḻ-vēda*, 'divine scripture,' 'the great truth,' 'non-denominational *Veda*' and so on. The work is claimed by

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(xv) *Tirukkuṟaḷ* with Parimēlaḻagar's commentary—Ed. by S P Rajaram, Madras, 1907,

(xvi) *The Kuṟaḷ* or *The Maxims* of *Tiruvaḷḷuvar*—English Translation by V V S. Aiyar, Madras, 1915, 1925, 1952, 1961,

(xvii) *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, *Aṟattuppāl* with Parimēlaḻagar's commentary (with notes by V M Sadagoparamanujacharya Swamigal), 1937,

(xviii) *Tirukkuṟaḷ—Poruṭpāl* and *Kāmattuppāl* with Parimēlaḻagar's commentary, 1938,

(xix) *Tirukkuṟaḷ—Kāmattuppāl* with Kaliṅgar and Parippe-rumāḷ's commentaries—Ed. by T P. Palaniappa Pillai, Tirupati, 1945;

(xx) *Tirukkuṟaḷ - Poruṭpāl* with Kaliṅgar and Parippe-rumāḷ's commentaries—Ed. by T.P. Palaniappa Pillai, Tirupati, 1948;

(xxi) *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, text, Tamil Paraphrase, English translation—Ed. by A Ranganada Mudaliar, Madras, 1949;

(xxii) *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, text, commentary and exhaustive introduction—Ed. by A. Chakravarti, 1949.

almost all the religious sects of the Tamiḷ land.[1] The Śaivaite claims that it was composed by a Śaivaite author. The Vaiṣṇavaites claim it as their own. The Reverend Pope who translated this into English even suggests[2] that it is the work of an author influenced by Christianity. The fact that the different communities are vying with one another in their claim to the authorship of this great work is itself an indication of its great eminence and importance. In the midst of all such various claimants we have the Jaina who maintains that it is the work of a great Jaina *ācārya*. The Jaina tradition associates[3] this great ethical work with Ēlācāriyar which is the other name for Śrī Kundakundācārya. The period of Śrī Kundakundācārya is covered by the later half of the first century B. C. and the former half of the first century A. D. We have referred to Śrī Kundakundācārya as the chief of the Dravidian *Saṅgha* at southern Pāṭalīpura.[4]

We are not merely to depend upon this tradition to base our conclusions.

We have sufficient internal evidence as well as circumstantial evidence to substantiate our view. To any unbiased student who critically examines the con-

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1 See V R Ramachandra Dikshitar *op. cit*, pp. 136-38 where Tiruvaḷḷuvar's religious outlook is discussed *vis-a-vis* Christianity, Jainism, Buddhism, Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism.

2 *The Sacred Kurraḷ* (1886), Introduction, pp. ii-iv and vi.

3 M S Ramaswami Ayyangar · *op. cit*, pp 43-44.

4. Above, pp 8-9

tents of this work it would be quite clear that it is replete with the *ahiṃsā* doctrine and therefore must be a product of Jaina imagination. Unbiased Tamiḻ scholars who are entitled to pronounce opinion on this point have expressed similar opinion as to the authorship of this work. But the majority of the Tamiḻ scholars among the non-Jainas are not willing to accept such a verdict based upon scientific investigation. This opposition is mainly traceable to religious feeling. About the time of the Hindu revival (about the 7th century A. D.) the clash between the Jaina religion and the Vedic sacrificial religion of the Hindu reformers must have been so tremendous that echoes of it are felt even now. In this conflict the Jaina teachers were evidently worsted by the Hindu revivalists who had the support of the newly converted Pāṇḍyan king on their side. As a result of this it is said that several Jaina teachers were put to death by impaling them.[1] How much of this is history and how much of this is the creation of fertile imagination fed by religious animosity, we are not able to assess clearly. But even to this day we have this story of impaling the Jainas painted on the walls of the Madurā temple, and annual festivals are conducted celebrating the defeat and destruction of religious rivals. This would give us an insight into the attitude of the Tamiḻ scholars towards

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1. Caldwell (*A Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, II edn., 1875, Introduction pp. 139-40) is of the opinion that it was Sundarapāṇḍya, a Pāṇḍya ruler of the 12th century, who was responsible for the persecution of the Jains of the Tamiḻ country

the early Jainas. It is no secret, therefore, that they generally resent the very suggestion that this great ethical work must have been written by a Jaina scholar.

According to one tradition the author of this work is said to be one Tiruvaḷḷuvar about whom nothing is known except what is concocted by the imagination of a modern writer who is responsible for the fictitious story relating to Tiruvaḷḷuvar. That he is born of a Cāṇḍāla woman, that he was a brother and contemporary of almost all great Tamiḷ writers are some of the absurd instances mentioned in this life of Tiruvaḷḷuvar.[1] To mention it is enough to discredit it. But the more enthusiastic among the modern Tamiḷ scholars and modern Tamils have elevated him into a God-head and built temples in his name and conducted annual festivals analogous to the festivals associated with the other Hindu deities. And the author is claimed to be one of the Hindu deities and the work is considered to be the revelation by such a deity. From such quarters, one cannot ordinarily expect application of historical criticism. So much so, whenever any hypothesis is suggested as a result of critical examination of the contents, it is rejected with a vehemence characteristic of uninstructed religious zeal. Many so-called critics who have written something or other about this great work have been careful to maintain that peculiar intellectual attitude which Samuel Johnson had when

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1. G U Pope *The Sacred Kurraḷ* (1886), Introduction, pp i-ii.

he had to report the proceedings of the House of Commons. He was particular to see that the Whigs had not the better of it. When such is the general mentality of the Tamiḻ students and when the real spirit of research adopting the scientific and historical method *is still in its infancy, it is no wonder that* we have nothing worth the name of Tamiḻ literature. Hence we are handicapped in our own attempt in presenting anything like a historical account of Jaina literature.

Turning from this digression to an examination of our work, we have to mention certain salient facts contained in the book itself. The book contains three great topics, *aṟam*, *poruḷ*, *inbam i.e.*, *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*. These three topics are interpreted and expounded as to be in thorough conformity with the basic doctrine of *ahiṃsā*. Hence it need not be emphasised that the terms here mean slightly different from what they imply in the ordinary Hindu religious works. Later Hindu religious systems, in as much as they are resting on the Vedic sacrificial ritualism, cannot completely throw overboard the practice of animal sacrifice enjoined in the *Vēdas*. The term *dharma* could mean, therefore, to them only *varṇāśrama-dharma* based upon Vedic sacrifice. Only three Indian systems were opposed to this doctrine of Vedic sacrifice: Jaina *darśana*, Sāṅkhya *darśana* and Bauddha *darśana*. Representatives of these three *darśanas* were present in the Tamiḻ land in the pre-revivalistic period. In the very

beginning of the work, in the chapter on *dharma*, the author gives this as his own view that it is far better and more virtuous to abstain from killing and eating any animal than to perform 1000 sacrifices.[1] This one single verse is enough to point out that the author would not have acquiesced in any form of such sacrificial ritualism. The verse is nothing more than the paraphrase of the Sanskrit words *ahiṃsā paramō dharmaḥ*. I was surprised to see this same verse quoted by a Śaivaite Tamiḻ scholar to prove that the author had as his religion Vedic sacrificial ritualism.

In the same section devoted to vegetarian food the author distinctly condemns[2] the Bauddha principle of purchasing meat from the butcher. Buddhists who offer lip service to the doctrine of *ahiṃsā* console themselves by saying that they are not to kill with their own hands but may purchase meat from the slaughter-house. The author of the *Kuṟaḷ* in unmistakable terms points out that the butcher's trade thrives only because of the

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1 The relevant *kuṟaḷ* reads ·
Avi-śorind -āyiram vēṭṭali-oṉṟaṉ-
uyirśegutt-unnāmai naṉṟu (1-26-9)
'Than thousand rich oblations, with libations rare,
Better the flesh of slaughtered beings not to share' (G U Pope)

2 The relevant *kuṟaḷ* reads
Tiṉaṟ-poruṭṭāṟ-koḷḷad-ulageṉin yarum
vilai-pporuṭṭal-uṉṟaruvār-il (1-26-6)
'We eat the slain', you say, 'by us no living creatures die,
Who'd kill and sell, I pray, if none come there the flesh to buy ?' (G.U Pope)

demand for meat. The butcher's interest is merely to make money and hence he adopts a particular trade determined by the principle of 'supply and demand.' Therefore the responsibility of killing animals for food is mainly on your head and not upon the butcher's. When there is such an open condemnation of animal sacrifice sanctioned by Vedic ritualism and the Buddhistic practice of eating meat by a convenient interpretation of the *ahiṃsā* doctrine, it is clear by a process of elimination that the only religion that conforms to the principles enunciated in the book is the religion of *ahiṃsā* as upheld by the Jainas. It is maintained by a well-known Tamiḻ scholar living, that the work is a faithful translation of the *Dharma-śāstra* by Bōdhāyana. Though very many Sanskrit words are found in this work and though from among the traditional doctrines some are also treated therein, still it would not be accurate to maintain that it is merely an echo of what appeared in the Sanskrit literature because many of these doctrines are re-interpreted and re-emphasised in the light of the *ahiṃsā* doctrine. It is enough to mention only two points. This *Bōdhāyana-Dharma-śāstra*, since it is based upon the traditional *varṇāśrama*, keeps to the traditional four castes and their duties[1]. According to this conception of *dharma*, cultivation of the land is left to the last class of *śūdras* and would certainly be *infra dig* for the upper classes to have any-

1. Cf eg *Baudhāyana-Dharma-sūtra* (Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 104, Benaras, 1934), 1st *praśna*, 16th *khaṇḍa*, 1st *sūtra* '*Catvārō varṇā brāhmaṇa-kṣatriya-viṭ-śūdrāḥ*'

thing to do with agriculture[1]. The author of the *Kuṟaḷ*, on the other hand, probably because of the fact that he is one of the *vēḷāḷa* or the agricultural class of the land, placed agriculture first among the professions. For he says, "living par excellence is living by tilling the land and every other mode of life is parasitical and hence next to that of the tiller of the soil."[2] It is too much to swallow that such a doctrine is borrowed from the Sanskrit *Dharma-śāstras*. Another interesting fact mentioned in the *Dharma-śāstras* is the mode of entertaining guests by the householders. Such an entertainment is always associated with killing a fat calf; the chapter on guests in *Bōdhāyana-Dharma-śāstra* gives a list of animals that ought to be killed for the

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1 *Dharma-śāstra* authors are not unanimous in assigning specific duties and functions to the four castes While Manu (*Manu-smṛti*—Ed by Vasudeva Sarma, Bombay, 1925, chapter 13) prohibits *brāhmanas* and *kṣatriyas* from cultivation of land which, according to him, is the duty of the *vaiśyas*, Bōdhāyana (*Baudhāyana-Dharma-sūtra*, Kashi Sanskrit Series, No 104, Benaras, 1934), who also assigns cultivation of land as the task of the *vaiśyas* (1st *praśna*, 18th *khaṇḍa*, 4th *sūtra* *Viṭsv-adhyayana-yajana-dāna-kṛṣi-vāṇijya-paśupālana-saṃyuktaṃ karmanāṃ vṛdhyai*), prohibits the *brāhmanas* from cultivating lands only if that should come in the way of their Vedic studies (*ibid.*, 1st *praśna*, 10th *khaṇḍa*, 31st *sūtra* *Vēdaḥ kṛṣi-vināśāya kṛṣir-Vēda-vināśini* । *Śaktimān-ubhayaṁ kuryād-aśaktas-tu kṛṣiṁ tyajēt* ॥)

2 The relevant *kuṟaḷ* reads.

uḻud-undu vāḻvāre vāḻvār maṟṟ-ellan-
toḻud-undu piṉ-śelbavar (2-104-3)
'Who ploughing eat their food they truly live;
The rest to others bend subservient, eating what they give'. (G. U Pope).

purpose of entertaining guests.[1] This is a necessary part of *dharma* and that violation of it will entail curse from the guests is the firm belief of those who accept Vedic ritualism as religion. A cursory glance at the corresponding chapter[2] in the *Kuṛaḷ* will convince any reader that *dharma* here means quite a different thing from what it means in the *Dharma-śāstras* of the Hindus. Hence we have to reject this suggestion that the work represents merely a translation of the *Dharma-śāstras* for the benefit of the Tamiḻ reading public.

Turning to circumstantial evidence, we have to note the following facts. The Jaina commentator of the Tamiḻ work called *Nīlakēśi* freely quotes from this *Kuṛaḷ*; and whenever he quotes he introduces the quotation with the words "as is mentioned in our scripture."[3] From this it is clear that the commentator considered this work as an important Jaina scripture in Tamiḻ. Secondly, the same implication is found in a non-Jaina Tamiḻ work called *Prabōdha-candrōdaya*[4]. This Tamiḻ work is evidently modelled

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1. *Baudhāyana-Dharma-sūtra*, 3rd *praśna*, 3rd *khaṇḍa*, 6th *sūtra*.

2. *Tirukkuṛaḷ*, *Aṛattuppāl*, chapter 9, verses 1-10.

3. The expression used by the commentator, *emm-ōttu*, is rendered into English by M. S Ramaswamy Ayyangar (*op. cit*, pp. 42-43) as 'Our own Bible'.

4. The following are the editions of this work :—

(i) *Prabōdhacandrōdayam*—Ed. by Arumugaswamigal, 1876;

(Contd.)

after the Sanskrit drama *Prabōdhacandrōdaya*. This Tamiḻ work is in *viruttam* metre, consisting of four lines. It is also in the form of a drama where the representatives of the various religions are introduced on the stage. Each one is introduced while reciting a characteristic verse containing the essence of his religion. When the Jaina *sanyāsi* appears on the stage, he is made to recite that particular verse[1] from the *Kuṟaḷ* which praises the *ahiṃsā* doctrine that "not killing a single life for the purpose of eating is far better than performing 1000 *yāgas*." It will not be far wrong to suggest that in the eyes of this dramatist the *Kuṟaḷ* was characteristically a Jaina work. Otherwise he would not have put this verse in the mouth of the *nigantavādi*. This much is enough. We may end this discussion by saying that this great ethical work is specially composed for the purpose of inculcating the principle of *ahiṃsā* in all its multifarious aspects, probably by a great Jaina scholar of eminence about the first century of the Christian era.[2]

This great ethical work, which contains the essence of Tamiḻ wisdom, consists of three parts and of 133 chapters. Each chapter contains 10 verses.

(ii) *Prabōdhacandrōdayam*—Ed by Subbarayaswamigal, Ramanuja Mudaliar and Venkataramayyar, Madras, 1898

1. See, above, p 34, footnote 1

2 S Vaiyapuri Pillai (*History of Tamil Language and Literature*, 1956, pp 81-85) is of the view that Tiruvaḷḷuvar lived about 600 A D

Thus we have 1330 verses in the form of couplets. It has three or four important commentaries. Of these, one is by the great commentator Naccinārkkiniyar. It is supposed to be by a Jaina according to the Jaina tradition, but is unfortunatety lost to the world. The commentary that is popular at present is by one Parimēlaḷagar and it is certainly later than Naccinārkkiniyar's and differs from the latter in the interpretation of many important points. Recently another commentary by Maṇakkuḍavar was published. Students of Tamiḷ literature entertain the hope of obtaining and and publishing the commentary by the great Naccinārkkiniyar. But up to the present there has not been any trace of it.

The work is translated into almost all the European languages, the very good English translation being the the work of Rev. G. U. Pope. This great work, together with the other work *Nālaḍiyār*, of which we shall speak presently, must have been one of the important factors in shaping the character and ideals of the Tamiḷ people. Speaking of these two ethical masterpieces, Dr. Pope writes[1] as follows :— "Yet pervading these verses there seems to me to be a strong sense of moral obligation, an earnest aspiration after righteousness, a fervant and unselfish charity and generally a loftiness of aim that are very impressive. I have felt sometimes as if there must be a blessing in

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1 G. U. Pope: *The Nālaḍiyār or the Four Hundred Quatrains in Tamil* (1883), General Introduction, p. xi.

store for a people that delight so utterly in composition thus remarkably expressive of a hunger and thirst after righteousness. They are the foremost among the peoples of India, and the *Kuṟaḷ* and *Nālaḍi* have helped to make them so."

Let us turn our attention to the last mentioned work *Nālaḍiyār*[1]. *Kuṟaḷ* and *Nālaḍiyār* serve as mutual commentaries and together 'throw a flood of light upon the whole ethical and social philosophy of the Tamiḻ people.'[2] *Nālaḍiyār* derives its name from the nature of the metre, just as the *Kuṟaḷ*. *Nālaḍiyar* means a quatrain or 4 lines in *veṇbā* metre. The work consists of 400 quatrains and is also called the *Vēḷāḷar-vēdam*,

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1. The following are the editions of *Nāladiyār* –

(i) *Nālaḍiyār*, text—Ed by U Pushparatha Chettiyar, Madras, 1869,

(ii) *Nālaḍiyār* (*Nālaḍi-nāṉūṟu*), text and commentary—Ed by U Pushparatha Chettiyar, Madras, 1873,

(iii) *Nālaḍiyār*, text and commentary—Ed by Maunaguru Rudramurthi, 1883,

(iv) *Nāladiyār*, text and explanatory notes, Madras, 1885,

(v) *Nālaḍiyār*, text—Ed by A Ramaswamigal, Madras, 1886,

(vi) *Nālaḍiyār*, text, commentary and English translation, Madras, 1892,

(vii) *The Nālaḍiyār or The Four Hundred Quatrains in Tamil*—Ed. with English translation by G. U Pope, Oxford, 1893

2 G U Pope · *The Nālaḍiyār or The Four Hundred Quatrains in Tamil*, Oxford, 1893, General Introduction, p xi.

the Bible of the cultivators.[1] It is not the work of a single author. Tradition supposes that each verse is composed by a separate Jaina monk. The current tradition is briefly this.[2] Once upon a time 8000 Jaina ascetics, driven by famine in the north, migrated to to the Pāṇḍyan country whose king supported them. When the period of famine was over they wanted to return to their country, while the king desired to retain these scholars at his court. At last the ascetics resolved to depart secretly without the knowledge of the king. Thus they left in a body one night. In the next morning it was found that each had left on his seat a palm leaf containing a quatrain. The king ordered them to be thrown into the river Vaigai, when it was found that some of the palm leaves were seen swimming up the river against the current and came to the bank. These were collected by the order of the king and this collection is known by the name *Nālaḍiyār*. We are not in a position to estimate the amount of historical truth contained in this tradition. We have to connect these 8000 Jaina ascetics with the followers of Bhadrabāhu who migrated to the south on account of the 12 years famine in northern India ; and this would place the composition of this work somewhere about the 3rd century B.C. We cannot dogmatise upon it. All that we can say, with a certain amount of certainty, is that it is one of the earliest didactic works in the Tamil language and is probably of the same age or slightly

1. See G U. Pope : *Ibid*, p. vii.

2. G. U. Pope · *Ibid.*, p. viii ; M S. Ramaswami Ayyangar : *op. cit.*, pp. 56-67.

earlier than the *Kuṟaḷ*. The 400 isolated stanzas are arranged according to a certain plan after the model of the *Kuṟaḷ*. Each chapter consists of 10 stanzas. The first part on *aṟam i.e., dharma,* consists of 13 chapters and 130 quatrains. The second section on *poruḷ i.e., artha,* contains 26 chapters and 260 quatrains; and the 3rd chapter on 'love' contains 10 quatrains. Thus 400 quatrains are arranged into 3 sections. This arrangement is attributed by one tradition to the Pāṇḍya king, Ugraperuvaḻudi,[1] and by another tradition to the Jaina scholar named Padumaṉār.[2] Of the 18 didactic works[3] in the Tamiḻ language *Kuṟaḷ* and *Nāladiyār* are considered to be the most important. The moral principles enunciated in this work are accepted by all classes without any difference of caste or religion. The traditional course of Tamiḻ study necessarily involves the study of these two works.

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1 According to tradition only *Aganāṉūṟu* and not *Nāladiyār* was caused to be compiled by Ugraperuvaḻudi See P T Srinivasa Iyengar · *op cit*, p 156, M Rajamanikkanar *op cit*, p 129 On the other hand, M S. Purnalingam Pillai (*Tamil Literature*, 1929, p. 68) speaks of a tradition according to which *Nāladiyār* was compiled under the auspices of the *Saṅgam* established by Vajranandi, a Jaina, at Madurai, in about 450 A D. The origin of this tradition, obviously quite a late one, must be attributed to the confusion which characterises the legend of the *Saṅgams*

2 G U. Pope *The Nāladiyār or The Four Hundred Quatrains in Tamil*, Oxford, 1893, General Introduction, p ix; V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar · *op cit*, pp 38-39

3 i e '*Padinen-kīḻkkaṇakku*, which is generally rendered into English as 'The eighteen minor poems'. For a list of the 18 works and their authors, see M S Purnalingam Pillai · *op cit*, p. 68.

None is entitled to be called a Tamil scholar unless he is thorough with these two great works.

On account of the word *Muttaraiyar* which occurs[1] in one or two quatrains, it is contended by some scholars that the work must be brought down to this side of the 8th century. They take their stand on the fact that this word *Muttaraiyar* refers to a minor chief within the Pallava empire.[2] This conclusion is entirely resting upon a meagre philological evidence of this single word. There is no further evidence to connect this chieftain with the Jaina ascetics who were no doubt responsible for the composition of the quatrains. On the other hand, the word *Muttaraiyar* may very well be interpreted as "King of pearls" referring to the Pāṇḍya kings. It is a well-known fact of ancient history that pearl-fishery was an important industry of the Pāṇḍyan country, and that pearls were exported to foreign countries from the Pāṇḍyan ports. It is but fitting and natural that the Jaina *munis* should pay a glowing compliment to their patron belonging to the Pāṇḍya dynasty. There is another line of arguement

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1. The references to *Muttaraiyar* occur in stanzas 200 and 296 of the *Nāladiyār*

2 S. Vaiyapuri Pillai (*History of Tamil Language and Literature*, 1956, p 19), for instance, says : 'The Muttaraiya family came into prominance only at the beginning of the seventh century and Peru-muttaraiyar referred to was most probably Perum-biḍugu-muttaraiya, the feudatory of Paramēśvaravarman Pallava I who had the title *perum-biḍugu* and who flourished in the middle of the seventh century'.

which tries to bring the age of this work to the later period of the Christian era. Scholars are of opinion that several stanzas in this work are but the echo of the Sanskrit work by Bhartṛhari. Bhartṛhari's *Nītiśataka* was composed about 650 A. D. and, therefore, *Nālaḍiyār* is supposed to be later than the 7th century A.D. This arguement must also be rejected, because the Jaina scholars who are experts in both the languages, viz., Tamiḻ and Sanskrit, were probably acquainted with certain old Sanskrit sayings that were perhaps incorporated by Bhartṛhari in his work. Even if you maintain that the Jaina ascetics responsible for the *Nālaḍiyār* were probably members of the Drāviḍa *Saṅgha* presided over by Śrī Kundakundācārya, the work could not be assigned to a period later than the first century A D. It is relevant to mention, in this connection, that quatrains from this *Nālaḍiyār* are found quoted in the well-known commentaries in Tamiḻ language from very early times Besides these two great works, several others (such as *Aṟaneṟiccāram* 'the essence of the way of virtue', *Paḻamoḻi*, 'Proverbs', *Ēlādi*, etc.) included in the 18 didactic works, probably owe their origin to Jaina authors. Of these we may notice a few in short.

1 Aṟaneṟiccāram[1]—'The essence of the way of virtue' is composed by a Jaina author by name

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1 Most of the lists of *Padineṇ-kīḻkkaṇakku* works do not include *Aṟaneṟiccāram* This is generally accepted to be the work of a Jaina poet, Tirumuṉaippāḍiyār, who is assigned by some (Contd.)

Tirumuṉaippāḍiyār. He is said to have flourished in the last *Saṅgam* period. He describes in this great work five moral principles, associated with Jainism, though common to the other religions in the south. These principles go by the name of *pañca-vratas*, the five rules of conduct governing the householder as well as the ascetic. These are *ahiṃsā* (non-killing), *satya* (truth-speaking), *astēya* (non-stealing), *brahmacarya* and *parimita-parigraha* (avoiding unnecessary luxury and paraphernalia and limiting oneself to the bare necessities of life). These constitute the five-fold principles of ethical conduct, and they are enunciated in this work called *Aṟaneṟiccāram.*

2. Paḻamoḻi[1] or 'Proverbs'—The author is a Jaina by name Muṉṟuṟai-araiyaṉār[2]. It contains 400

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scholars to the first half of the 13th century A. D *Aṟaneṟiccaram*, which treats its subject under three major heads, *viz*, *kāṭci*, *oḻukkam* and *jñānam*, and consists of 222 *veṇbā* stanzas, is taken to have been influenced by *Arungalacceppu*, another Jaina didactic work It is interesting to note that Tirumuṉaippāḍiyār refers to the Arhat as Śivaṉ in his work. See *Tamiḻ-kkaḷañjiyam*, Vol. I (1954), p. 260 An edition of *Arungalacceppu*, under the title *Tirukkalambagam*, was brought out at Kanchipuram in 1883.

1 The following are the editions of this work —

(i) *Paḻamoḻi*, text and commentary—Ed by Narayana Ayyangar, Madurai, 1918

(ii) *Paḻamoḻi*—Ed by T. Chelvakesavaroya Mudaliar, Madras

2. The name Muṉṟuṟai-araiyaṉ is taken to indicate that the author, whose proper name is otherwise unknown, was a chieftain (*araiyaṉ*) of Muṉṟuṟai, a place not yet identified. Paḻa-

(Contd.)

quatrains of *veṇbā* metre like the *Nālaḍiyār*. It consists of valuable old sayings containing not merely principles of conduct, but also a good deal of worldly wisdom. It is assigned a third place in the enumeration of the 18 didactic works which begins with the *Kuṟaḷ* and the *Nālaḍiyār*.

3. Another work belonging to this group of 18 is *Tiṇaimālai-nūṟṟaimbadu*[1] by Kaṇimēdaiyār. This Jaina author is also said to be one of the *Saṅgam* poets. This work treats of the principles of love and war and is quoted freely by the great commentators of the later age. Stanzas from this work are found quoted by Naccinārkkiniyar and others

4. Another work of this group is *Nāṇmaṇik-kaḍigai*, 'the solver of the four gems', by the Jaina author by name Vilambināthar This is also in the *veṇbā* metre well-known in the other works. Each stanza deals with four important moral principles like jewels, and hence the name *Nāṇmaṇikkaḍigai*.

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moḻi is largely indebted to the *Nālaḍiyār* and other works and was probably composed in the 8th century A.D See S Vaiyapuri Pillai *History of Tamil Language and Literature* (1956), p 90, M S Ramaswamy Ayyangar *op cit*, pp 92-93

1 *Tinaimalai-nūṟṟaimbadu* contains 155 stanzas in *veṇbā* metre This work has set the pattern for many a later work on the love theme In this work Kaṇimēdaiyār devotes 31 songs each for the five *tiṇais*, *viz*, *kuṟiñji*, *neydal*, *pālai*, *mullai* and *marudam* Like his other work *Ēlādi*, *Tinaimalai-nūṟṟaimbadu* also belongs to the *kīḻkkanakku* group. See T. V Sadasiva Pandarathar *A History of Tamil Literature* (250-600 A D), Annamalainagar, (1957), p. 67.

5. Next *Ēlādi*, 'Cardamom and others'. The name *Ēlādi* refers to the mixture of the perfumes of *ēla*, (cardamom), *karpūram* (camphor), *erikaraśu* (the odorous wood), *candanam* (sandal) and *tēṇ* (honey). The name is given to this work because each quatrain is supposed to contain five or six such fragrant topics. The work is of Jaina origin, and the author's name is Kaṇimēdaiyār[1] whose knowledge is appreciated by all. It is also one of the 18 lesser classics of *Saṅgam* literature. Nothing is known of the author except that he is said to be a disciple of Mākkāyaṇār[2], son of Tamiḻāśiriyar, a member of the Madurai *Saṅgam*. Though these works are usually included in the general group of the 18 minor classics[3], it should not be assumed that they

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1 See above, p. 46 and note 1

2. Another Jaina disciple of Mākkāyaṇār, Mākkāriyāśāṇ by name, is the author of *Śirupañcamūlam*, yet another *kīḻkkaṇakku* work. The name of the work is derived from the five (*pañca*) medicinal roots *kandankattiri*, *śiṟuvaḻutuṇai*, *śirumalli*, *perumalli* and *neruñji* *Śirupañcamulam* contains in all 104 songs in *veṇbā* metre, each song dealing with five essentials for human living That this Jaina author was a disciple of Mākkāyaṇār is known from the *pāyirappāḍal* at the end of the work (*Mākkāyaṇ māṇakkaṇ Mākkāriyaśāṇ Śirupañcamūlamśeydāṇ*) See T V. Sadasiva Pandarathar *op. cit.*, pp. 49-52.

3 *Aintinai-eḻubadu* is another *kīḻkkanakku* work which set the trend for all later works which have *agapporuḷ* for their main theme, each of the five *tiṇais* of this work consists of 70 stanzas called *pā* and hence the suffix *eḻubadu* (70). Only 64 poems are now extant, the rest being probably lost Though this work commences with an invocation to the Elephant-faced god, *i.e.*, Vināyaka, some scholars are of the opinion that its author, Mūvādiyār, was a Jaina by faith. He lived probably in the 5th century A.D. See T. V Sadasiva Pandarathar, *op cit.*, pp. 65-66.

all belong to the same century. They must be spread over several centuries; and the only thing that we may assert with a certain amount of certainty is that they all belong to the pre-revivalistic period of the Hindu religion in the south. Hence they must be assigned to the period before the 7th century A. D.

Next we turn to *kāvya* literature. *Kāvya* literature is generally divided into 2 groups: major *kāvyas* and the minor *kāvyas.* The major *kāvyas* are five in number:[1] *Cintāmaṇi, Śilappadikāram, Maṇimēkalai, Vaḷaiyāpati* and *Kuṇḍalakēśi* Of these five, *Cintāmaṇi, Śilappadikāram* and *Vaḷaiyāpati* are by Jaina authors and the other two by Buddhistic scholars. Of these five, only three are available now, because *Vaḷaiyāpati* and *Kuṇḍa lakēśi* are almost completely lost to the world. Except a few stanzas quoted here and there by commentators, nothing is known of these works. From the stray stanzas available, it is evident that *Vaḷaiyāpati* was composed by a Jaina author[2]: what the frame-work of

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1 They are generally referred to in Tamiḷ as *Aimperun-kappiyangaḷ*

2 The following additional information pertaining to *Vaḷaiyapati* is provided by S Vaiyapuri Pillai (*A History of Tamil Language and Literature*, 1956, pp 160-61) 'The *Vaḷaiyāpati* has, except for a few citations, completely disappeared Even the story of the poem is not known A later *Purāna* in Tamil, *Vaiśiya-purānam*, gives a story purporting to be the theme of the *Vaḷaiyā-pati* wherein Kāḷi is made the supreme goddess But this is impossible. From its stanzas cited by ancient commentators, we might infer that its author was a Jain There cannot be any

(Contd.)

the story was, who the author was, and when he lived are all matters of mere conjecture. Similarly, in the case of *Kuṇḍalakēśi*, the Buddhistic work, nothing is known about the author or his time. From the stanzas quoted in the work of *Nīlakēśi* it is clear that *Kuṇḍalakēśi* was a work of philosophical controversy, trying to establish the Bauddha *darśana* by refuting the other *darśanas* such as the Vedic and the Jaina *darśanas*. Unfortunately, there is no hope to recover these two great *kāvyas*. Only the other three are now available, thanks to the labours of the eminent Tamil scholar Dr. V. Swaminatha Ayyar. Though in the enumeration of the *kāvyas*, *Cintāmāṇi* occupies the place of honour, because of the unopposed literary eminence of the classic, it could not be supposed that the enumeration is based upon any historical succession. Probably, the two lost works *Vaḷaiyāpati* and *Kuṇḍalakēśi* deserve to be considered as historically earlier than the others; but since nothing is known about these works, we can-

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reasonable doubt that this was a Jaina *kāvya* Some 66 stanzas from it are included in the *Puṟattiraṭṭu*. Two other stanzas are found in the commentary of *Yāpparungalam* and we might surmise that some of the stanzas occurring in the commentary of *Śilappadikāram* belong to this work The commentary on *Takkayāgapparaṇi* says that the poet Oṭṭakkūttar thought highly of *Vaḷaiyāpati* for its poetic beauty. It is interesting to note that this work also, like the *Śilappadikāram*, the *Manimēkalai* and the *Cintāmaṇi*, has incorporated a *kuṟaḷ* in one of its stanzas. Being one of the earliest works in the *viruttam* metre, we may be justified in ascribing it to the first half of the tenth century.

not speak with any certainty. Of the remaining three, tradition makes *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* contemporary works whereas *Cintāmaṇi* is probably a later one. *Maṇimēkalai*, being a Buddhistic work, cannot be brought in our review, though the story is connected with that of *Śilappadikāram*, which is distinctly a Jaina work.

Śilappadikāram[1], ' the epic of the anklet' is a very important Tamiḻ classic, in as much as it is considered to serve as a land-mark for the chronology of Tamiḻ literature. Its author is the Cēra prince, who became a Jaina ascetic, by name Iḷaṅgōvaḍigaḷ. This great work is taken as an authority for literary usage and is quoted as such by the later commentators. It is associated with a great mercantile family in the city of Puhār, Kāvēripūmpaṭṭiṇam, which was the capital of the Cōḷa empire. The heroine Kaṇṇaki was from this mercantile family and was famous for her chastity and

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1 The following are the editions of the *Śilappadikāram* :

(i) *Śilappadikāram, Puhar-kkāṇḍam*—Ed by T E. Srinivasaraghavachari, 1872,

(ii) *Śilappdikāram*, text and Aḍiyārkku-Nallār's commentary—Ed by V Swaminatha Aiyar, Madras, 1892,

(iii) *Śilappadikāram*, text with *Arumpadavurai* and Aḍiyārkku-Nallār's commentary—Ed by V. Swaminatha Aiyar, Madras, 1920,

(iv) *The Śilappadikāram or The Lay of the Anklet*, translated with Introduction and notes by V R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Madras, 1939,

(v) *Śilappadikāram*, text with Venkataswamy Nattar's commentary, Madras, 1942, 1947, 1950 and 1953

devotion to her husband. Since the story is associated with the attempt to sell the anklet or *Śilambu* in Madurai, the capital of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom and the consequent tragedy, the work is called the epic of the anklet or *Śilambu*. Since the three great kingdoms are involved in this story, the author who is a Cēra prince elaborately describes all the three great capitals Puhār, Madurai and Vañji, the last being the capital of the Cēra empire.

The author of this work, Iḷaṅgōvaḍigaḷ, was the younger son of the Cēra king Cēralādaṉ whose capital was Vañji. Iḷaṅgōvaḍigaḷ was the younger brother of Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ, the ruling king after Cēralādaṉ. Hence the name Iḷaṅgō, the younger prince. After he became an ascetic he was called Iḷaṅgōvaḍigaḷ, the term *aḍigaḷ* being an honorific term referring to an ascetic. One day when this ascetic prince was in the temple of Jina situated at Vañji, the capital, some members of the hill tribe went to him and narrated to him the strange vision which they had witnessed relating to the heroine Kaṇṇaki. How they had witnessed on the hill a lady who had lost one of her breasts, how Indra appeared before her, how her husband Kōvalaṉ was introduced to her as a *dēva*, and how finally Indra carried both of them in a divine chariot: all these were narrated to the Cēra prince in the presence of his friend and poet Kūlavāṇigaṉ Śāttaṉ, the renowned author of *Maṇimēkalai*. This friend narrated the full story of the hero and the heroine which was listened to

with interest by the royal ascetic[1]. The story narrated by Śāttaṉ contained three important and valuable truths in which the royal ascetic took great interest. First, if a king deviates from the path of righteousness even to a slight extent, he will bring down upon himself and his kingdom a catastrophe as a proof of his inequity ; secondly, a woman walking the path of chastity is deserving of adoration and worship not only by human beings but also by *dēvas* and *munis* ; and thirdly, the working of *karma* is such that there is an inevitable fatality from which no one can escape, and the fruits of one's previous *karma* must necessarily be experienced in a later period In order to illustrate these three eternal truths the royal prince undertook the task of composing this story for the benefit of mankind.

In this classic called *Śilappadikaram* or the epic of the anklet, the first scene is laid in Puhār,[2] the Cōḷa capital. This was evidently an important port at the mouth of the Cauvery, and it was the capital of the Cōḷa king Karikāla[3] Being an important commercial centre, several great commercial houses were situated in the capital. Of these there was one Māśattuvaṉ, a merchant prince belonging to this noble family of

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1 *Śilappadikāram, Padigam* [This and the following references to this work are to be referred to V Swaminatha Aiyar's edition (1892) and V R Ramachandra Dikshitar's translation (1939)].

2 *Ibid*, *Puhār-kkaṇḍam*

3 P. T Srinivasa Iyengar *op cit*, pp 224, 376.

commercial magnates. His son was Kōvalaṉ, the hero of our story. He was married to Kaṇṇaki, the daughter of another commercial magnate of the same city whose name was Mā Nāyakaṉ.[1] Kōvalaṉ and his wife Kaṇṇaki set up an independent home on a grand scale befitting their social status and were living happily for some time in conformity with the rules and conduct associated with the householders. Their happiness consisted in lavish hospitality to all the deserving ones among the householders as well as the ascetics.[2]

While they were thus spending their life happily, Kōvalaṉ once met a very beautiful and accomplished dancing girl by name Mādhavī. He fell in love with the actress[3] who reciprocated it; and therefore he spent most of his time in the company of Mādhavī, to the great grief of his wedded wife Kaṇṇaki. In this erotic extravagance, he practically spent all his wealth; but Kaṇṇaki never expressed her grief, and she was quite devoted to him as she was in the beginning of her wedded life. There was the Indra festival celebrated as usual.[4] Kōvalaṉ with his mistress also went to the sea-shore to take part in the festival.[5] While they were

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1 *Śilappadikāram*, Canto 1 : *Maṅgala-vāḻttu-ppāḍal*, 'The song of benediction'.

2. *Ibid.*, Canto 2 : *Maṉaiyaṟampaḍutta-kādai*, 'Setting up home'.

3. *Ibid.*, Canto 3 ; *Araṅgēṟṟu-kādai*, 'The debut'.

4. *Ibid.*, Canto 5 : *Indira-viḻāv-ūreḍutta-kādai*, 'The celebration of Indra's festival'.

5 *Ibid.*, Canto 6 : *Kaḍal-āḍu-kādai*, 'Sea bathing'.

seated in one corner, Kōvalaṉ took out the *vīṇā* from the hands of Mādhavī and began to play some fine tunes of love. Mādhavī gently suspected that his attachment to her was waning. But when she took the *vīṇā* from his hand and began to play her own tunes, that aroused his suspicion that she was secretly attached to some other person.[1] This mutual suspicion resulted in a break-off, and Kōvalaṉ returned home in a state of complete poverty with a noble resolution of starting life again as an honourable householder. His chaste wife, instead of rebuking him for his past waywardness, consoled him with that kindness characteristic of of a chaste wife and encouraged him in his resolve to start life again by reviving his business. He was practically penniless, since he had lost everything when he was associated with his mistress Mādhavī But his wife had two anklets still remaining. She was willing to part with these if he would care to sell these and have the sale proceeds as the capital for reviving his business. But he was not willing to stay in his own capital any longer. Hence he decided to go to the Pāṇḍyan capital, Madurai, for the purpose of disposing off these anklets. Without the knowledge of anybody, he left the Cōḷa capital the same night accompanied by his wife and started for Madurai[2]. On his way he reached an *āśrama* of the Jaina ascetics on the northern banks of the Cauvery. In that *āśrama* he met the female ascetic Kaundhi who was quite willing to

1, *Ibid.*, Canto 7 : *Kāṉalvari*, The sea shore song'

2. *Ibid*, Canto 9 *Kaṉāttiram-uraitta-kādai*, 'The tale of the dream'.

accompany these two, in order that she might have the opportunity of meeting the great Jaina ācāryas in the Pāṇḍyan capital of Madurai. These three continued their march towards Madurai when, after crossing the Cauvery, resting on the banks of a tank, Kōvalaṉ and his wife were insulted by a wicked fellow who was wandering there with his equally wicked mistress. This provoked their ascetic friend Kaundhi who cursed these two creatures to become jackals. But after the earnest requests of Kōvalaṉ and Kaṇṇaki the curse was revoked that they would resume their normal human form in a year.[1]

After undergoing the troubles of the tedious journey, they reached the outskirts of Madurai, the Pāṇḍyan capital[2]. Leaving his wife Kaṇṇaki in the company and charge of Kaundhi, Kōvalaṉ entered the city for the purpose of ascertaining the proper place where he could begin his business[3]. While Kōvalaṉ was spending his time in the city with his friend Māḍalaṉ-Kaundhi wanted to leave Kaṇṇaki in the house of Mādhari, a good natured shepherdess of that locality.[4] When Kōvalaṉ returned from the city, he and his wife were taken to Āyarpāḍi and were lodged in the shepherdess' house. Her daughter was placed at the service

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1. *Ibid*, Canto 10. *Nāḍu-kāṇ-kādai*, 'The sight of the kingdom'.

2. Here starts the second part of the work, viz., *Madurai-kkāṇḍam*.

3. *Ibid.*, Canto 14: *Ūr-kāṇ-kādai*, 'Seeing the City'.

4. *Ibid.*, Canto 15: *Aḍaikkala-kkādai*, 'The Haven'.

of Kaṇṇaki who and her husband were the honoured guests in that Āyarpāḍi. After feeling sorry for the troubles and privations, Kōvalaṉ took leave of his wife and returned to the city for the purpose of selling one of the anklets. When he entered the principal market street he met a goldsmith. He spotted him out as a goldsmith patronised by the king and told him that he had an anklet worthy of being worn by the queen and wanted him to estimate the value of the same. The goldsmith wanted to see the value of the anklet which was accordingly delivered by the owner. The wicked goldsmith thought within himself of deceiving Kōvalaṉ, asked him to wait in a house next to his own and promised to strike a very good bargain with the king, for the anklet was so valuable that only the queen could offer the price of it. Thus leaving poor Kōvalaṉ alone he took the anklet to the king where he misrepresented facts reporting that Kōvalaṉ was a thief having in possession one of the queen's anklets which was stolen from the palace a few days before. The king without further enquiry issued orders that the thief must be killed and the anklet must be recovered at once. The wicked goldsmith returned with the king's officers who carried out the orders of the foolish king to the very letter, and thus Kōvalaṉ had to end his life, while attempting to start life again, in the foreign country[1]. In the meanwhile Kaṇṇaki who resided in the shepherdess' quarters had observed several evil omens prophetic of the great calamity awaiting her.

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1 *Ibid.*, Canto 16: *Kolaikkaḷa-kkādai*, 'The place of execution'.

When Mādhari, the shepherdess, went to bathe in the Vaigai river, she learnt from a shepherdess returning from the city the fate of Kōvalaṉ who was killed by the command of the king on a charge of theft of the queen's anklet. When this was reported to Kaṇṇaki, she, in a rage entered the city with her other anklet in hand in order to vindicate the innocence of her husband before the king[1]. Reaching the palace Kaṇṇaki intimated through the sentinel that she wanted to have an interview with the king in order to vindicate the innocence of her husband who was cruelly put to death without proper enquiry. She demonstrated before the king that her anklet taken from her husband as the stolen one contained gems inside whereas the queen's anklet contained pearls inside. When this fact was demonstrated to the king by breaking open Kaṇṇaki's anklet, the king realised the immensity of his blunder in cruelly putting to death an innocent member of a noble family of merchants. He cried that he was foolishly led into this blunder by the wicked goldsmith, fell down unconscious from his royal throne and lost his life immediately[2]. After vindicating the innocence of her husband, Kaṇṇaki, with unabated rage and anger, cursed the whole city of Madurai that it should be consumed by fire and tore off her left breast and cast it away over the city with her curse. The curse

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1. *Ibid*, Cantos 18-19: *Tuṉba-mālai*, 'The garland of sorrow' and *Ūrśūḷvari-kādai*, 'The talk of the town'.

2. *Ibid.*, Canto 20: *Vaḷakkuṟai-kādai*, 'The demand for justice'.

took effect and the city was burnt to ashes[1]. Having learnt from the Goddess of Madurai that all this was but the inevitable result of her past *karma* and being consoled by the fact that she would meet her husband as a *dēva* in a fortnight, Kaṇṇaki left Madurai and went westwards towards Malaināḍu. Ascending the hill called Tiruccenguṉṟam she waited under the shade of a *vēṅgai* tree for fourteen days when she met her husband Kōvalaṉ in the form of a *dēva* who took her in a *vimāna* to *svarga*, while being adored by the *dēvas* themselves.[2] Thus ends the second chapter called *Madurai-kkāṇḍam*.

Next is the third part of the work called *Vañji-kkāṇḍam* relating to the Cēra capital Vañji. The members of the hill tribe, who witnessed this great scene of Kaṇṇaki being carried by her husband in the divine chariot, celebrated this event in their hamlet, in the form of *kuravaikūttu*, evidently a form of inspired folk-dance. Then these hunters wanted to narrate this wonder to their king Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ and they marched towards the capital, each carrying a present to the the king There they met the Cēra king Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ who was with his queen and his younger brother in the midst of his four-fold army. When the king heard this narration as to how Kōvalaṉ was killed in Madurai, how the city was consumed by fire by the curse of Kaṇṇaki and how the Pāṇḍyan king lost his

1 *Ibid*, Cantos 21-22 *Vañjina-mālai*, 'The great wrath' and *Aḻarpaḍu-kādai*, 'The conflagaration'

2 *Ibid*, Canto 23 : *Kaṭṭaurai-kādai*, 'The Explanation'.

life, he was very greatly impressed by the greatness and chastity of Kaṇṇaki. As desired by his queen, he wanted to build a temple for this Goddess of chastity.[1] With this object in view he set out with his ministers and army towards the Himālayas for the purpose of bringing a rock to be sculptured into the idol of Kaṇṇaki to establish it within the temple built in her name. There he met with the opposition of the several Āryan princes who were defeated by this Cēra king and were brought as captives back to the Cēra capital. There he had the temple built in the name of Kaṇṇaki and celebrated the *pratishṭhā-mahōtsava* according to which the idol of Kaṇṇaki, the Goddess of chastity, was placed in the temple for the purpose of worship.[2] In the meanwhile, the parents of both Kōvalaṉ and Kaṇṇaki, learning the fate of their children, renounced their property and became ascetics.[4] When the Cēra king Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ built the temple in honour of the Goddess of chastity, several kings of Āryāvarta, the Mālava king, Gajabāhu the king of Laṅkā, who were all there at the Cēra capital, decided to build similar temples for Kaṇṇaki at their own capitals and wanted to conduct worship in a similar manner, so that they might also obtain the Goddess of chastity's blessing[4].

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1. *Ibid*, Cantos 24-25 · *Kuṉṟakkuravai*, 'The dance of the hill-maidens' and *Kāṭci-kkādai*, 'The decision to march north'.

2. *Ibid*, Canto 26-28 : *Kālkōṭ-kādai*, 'Bringing the stone'; *Nīrppaḍai-kkādai*, 'Bathing the stone' and *Naḍu-kaṟ-kādai*, 'The consecration'.

3. *Ibid*, Canto 29 : *Vāḻttu-kkādai*, 'The Blessing'.

4. *Ibid.*, Canto 30 : *Varantaru-kādai*, 'The Boon'.

Thus arose the Kaṇṇaki worship which brought all prosperity and plenty to the worshippers. Thus ends the story of *Śilappadikāram.*

It consists of three great divisions and 30 chapters on the whole. The great work has a very valuable commentary by one Aḍiyārkkunallār[1]. Nothing definite is known about this commentator. Since he is referred to by Naccinārkkiniyar, another commentator of a later period, all that we can say is that he is of a period earlier than Naccinārkkiniyar's. That he must have been a very great scholar is evident from his valuable commentary on this work. That he was well versed in the principles of music, dance and drama is very well borne out by the elaborate details given by him in his commentary elucidating the text relating to those topics. This work, the epic of the anklets, contains a lot of historical information interesting to the students of South Indian history. From the time of Kanakasabhai Pillai, the author of the *The Tamils 1800 years ago* up to the present day, this work has been the source of information and guidance to the research students in the Tamiḻ land. The information that Gajabāhu, the king of Ceylon, was one of the royal visitors to the Vañji capital[2] is emphasised as an important point for determining the chronology

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1 For additional information on this accomplished commentator, see *The Śilappadikāram* (Madars, 1939), V R. Ramachandra Dikshitar's Introduction to his translation, pp 71–73.

2 *Śilappadikāram*, Canto 30 *Varantaru-kādai* text line 153, *The Śilappadikāram* (V R Ramachandra Dikshitar's Translation), p 343

of the work. This Gajabāhu is assigned to the 2nd century A.D. according to the Buddhistic account contained in *Mahāvaṃsa*[1]. Relying upon this, critics are of opinion that the Cēra king Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ and his brother Iḷaṅgōvaḍigaḷ must have lived somewhere about 150 A. D. and hence the work must be assigned to that period[2]. All are not agreed on this point, but those who are opposed to this view would bring down the period several centuries later to the period of another Gajabāhu mentioned in the same *Mahāvaṃsa*[3]. Mr. Logan in his *Malabar District Manual* states several important points indicating the Jaina influence over the people of the Malabar coast before the introduction of Hinduism. Since we are not directly concerned with the chronology, we may leave that topic to the students of history. In our opinion the view associating this work with the earlier Gajabāhu of the 2nd century is not altogether improbable But we want to emphasise one important fact.

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1 *The Mahāvaṃsa* (Translated by Wijesinha Mudaliar, 1889), part II, p iv, List of kings , V R Ramachandra Dikshitar : *The Śilappadikāram* (Translation, 1939), Introduction, p. 14

2 V Swaminatha Iyer (ed) *Śilappadikāram* (1892), Introduction, pp 10-11 , V R Ramachandra Dikshitar : *The Śilappadikāram* (Translation, 1939), Introduction, pp. 8-10 ; K V Jagannathan . *Tamiḻ-kkāppiyangaḷ* (1955), p. 221 ; M. Rajamanikkanar *op. cit* , p 276

3 P. T Srinivasa Iyengar *op cit* , pp. 602-03 , K. N. Sivaraja Pillai . *The Chronology of the Early Tamils* (1932), p. 42 ; S Vaiyapuri Pillai *A History of Tamil Language and Literature* (1956), pp. 142-50.

Throughout the work we find doctrines relating to *ahiṃsā* expounded and emphasised; and in some places we have reference to the form of temple worship described according to this doctrine. About the time, worship wilh flowers was prevalent throughout the Tamiḷ land. This is referred to as *pūppali*, that is, *bali* with flowers[1]. The term *bali* refers to such sacrificial offering and *pūppali* is interpreted by the commentator as worship of God with flowers.

The Cēra prince is complimented by his *brāhmaṇa* friend Māḍalaṉ as one who introduced the purer form of *pūppali* in temple worship. Incidentally we may mention another interesting fact. There are two terms in early Tamiḷ literature, *andaṇaṉ* and *parppāṉ*, each with a story behind It is generally assumed that these two are synonyms. In several places they are probably used as synonyms When in the same work these two terms are used in slightly different connotations, they must be taken as different. In this epic of the anklet the term *andanaṉ* is interpreted[2] by the commentator to mean *śrāvaka*, the householder among the Jainas. This is a very interesting piece of information. These two terms again occur in the famous *kuṟaḷ* where the term *pārppāṉ*[3] is interpreted to mean one

1 *Śilappadikāram, Vañji-kkāṇḍam*, Canto 24 *Uraippāṭṭumaḍai*, line 18 , Canto 28 *Naḍukaṟ-kadai*, line 231

2 Unfortunately, a discrepancy has crept in here In *Śilappadikaram*, Canto 16, *Kolaikkaḷa-kkādai*, line 71 reads-*Aṟavōrkk-aḷittalum-ōmbalum* and the commentator interprets the word *Aṟavōr*, and not *andanar*, as *Śāvaka-nōṉbigaḷ*

3. The *pārppāṉ* and his Vedic lore are mentioned in *kuṟaḷ*

who makes *vēdādhyayana* whereas the term *andaṇaṉ*[1] is defined in a different manner as "as one who is all love and mercy to all the living creatures." Evidently the term *andaṇaṉ* was conventionally used by early Tamiḷ authors to describe the followers of the *ahiṃsā* doctrine irrespective of birth, while the term *ūpddʌṟd* was reserved by them to designate the social caste of the *brāhmaṇas*. This suggestion is worth investigating by scholars interested in the social reconstruction of the early Tamiḷs.

Jīvaka-Cintāmaṇi :[2] This work, the greatest of the five *mahākāvyas*, is undoubtedly 'the greatest existing Tamiḷ literary monument.' In grandeur of conception, in elegence of literary diction and in beauty of description of nature it remains unrivalled in Tamiḷ literature. For the later Tamiḷ authors it has been not only a model to follow but an ideal to aspire to. The story is told of Kamban, the author of the great Tamiḷ

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1. *Kuṟaḷ* 30 which mentions the *andanar*, reads as follows :-
   Andaṇar-enbōr-aṟavōr-maṟṟ-evv-uyirkkuñ-
   Cendaṇmai-pūṇḍ-oḷugal-āṉ
   'Towards all that breathe, with seemly graciousness adorned they live ,
   And thus to virtue's sons the name of
   'Anthanar' men give' - (G U. Pope)
2 The following are the editions of the *Jīvaka-Cintāmaṇi* .-
   (i) *Jīvaka-Cintāmaṇi*, part I—Ed. by Rangaswami Pillai, Madras, 1883 ;
   (ii) *Jīvaka-Cintāmani*, text and commentary—Ed. by V. Swaminatha Iyer, Madras, 1887,
   (iii) *Jīvaka-Cintāmaṇi*, 1888.

Rāmāyaṇa that when he introduced his *Rāmāyaṇa* before the academy of scholars, when some of the scholars remarked that they discerned traces of *Cintāmaṇi* there, Kamban, characteristic of intellectual courage and honesty, acknowledged his debt with the following words : "Yes, I have sipped a spoonful of the nectar from *Cintāmaṇi*[1].

This indicates with what veneration the classic was held by the Tamil scholars. 'This great romantic epic which is at once the Iliad and the Odyssey of the Tamil language' is said[2] to have been composed in the early youth of the poet named Tirutta-kkadēva. Nothing is known about the author except his name and that he was born in Mylapore, a suburb of Madras, where the author of the *Kuṛaḷ* also lived The youthful poet together with his master migrated to Madurai, the great capital of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom and a centre of religious activities. With the permission of the teacher the young ascetic-poet got introduced to the members of the Tamil Academy or *Saṅgam* at Madurai While in social conversation with some of the fellow members of the academy, he was reproached by them for the incapacity of producing erotic work in Tamil language. To this he replied that few Jainas

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1 V. Swaminatha Iyer (ed) *Jivaka- Cintamani* (1922). Preface to the 3rd edition According to the learned editor, this incident involving Kamban was found noted down on an old manuscript copy of *Jīvaka-Cintamani*

2 For the traditional biographical account of Tirutta-kkadēvar, see also M S Ramaswami Ayyangar, *op cit* , pp 95-96.

cared to write poetry in *śṛṅgāra-rasa*. They could very well do it as well as the others, but the fact that they did not indulge in such literary compositions was merely the result of their dislike of such sensual subjects and not due to literary incapacity. But when his friends taunted whether he could produce one, he accepted the challenge. Returning to his *āśrama* he reported the matter to his master. While himself and his master were seated together there ran a jackal in front of them which was pointed out by the master to his disciple who was asked to compose a few verses relating to the jackal. Immediately Tiruttakkadēva, the disciple, composed verses relating to the jackal, hence called *Nari-viruttam*, illustrating the instability of the body, the ephemeral nature of wealth and such other topics. The master was pleased with the extraordinary poetic ability of his disciple and gave him permission to compose a classic describing the life history of Jīvaka. It contained all the various aspects of love and beauty. To mark his consent the master composed an invocatory verse to be used by the disciple as the first verse of his would-be work. Then his disciple Tiruttakkadēva started composing another verse in adoration of Siddha which was accepted by his *guru* as much more beautiful than his own and instructed him to keep this as his first verse while his own was assigned a second place. Thus the verses containing *Siddha-namaskāra* starting with the words *mūvāmudalā* is the first verse in *Jivaka-Cintāmaṇi* while *arhan-namaskāra* composed by the *guru* beginning with the words *śemponvaraimēl*

is assigned the second place in the work. Thus as the result of the challenge from his friendly poet of Madurai *Saṅgam*, the *Cintāmaṇi* was composed by Tiruttakkadēva to prove that a Jaina author also could produce a work containing *śṛṅgāra-rasa*. It was admitted on all sides that he had succeeded wonderfully well. When the work was produced before the academy, the tradition says, the author was asked by his friends how he, from his childhood pledged to perfect purity and celibacy, could compose a poem exhibiting such unequalled familiarity with sensual pleasures. In order to clear up this doubt it is said he took up a red-hot ball of iron with these words "Let this burn me, if I am not pure"; and it is said he came out of the ordeal unscathed, and his friends apologised to him for casting doubt on the purity of his conduct[1]

Unlike the previous work *Śilappadikāram* which is supposed to deal with the historical events which took place during the life-time of the author, this classic deals with the *purānic* story of Jīvaka The story of Jīvaka is found in Sanskrit literature in plenty. The continuation work of the *Mahāpurāṇam* by Jinasēna, composed by his disciple Guṇabhadra[2], contains the

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1 V Swaminatha Iyer, who also narrates this tradition in detail in his edition of the *Jivaka-Cintamaṇi* (1923), says (Introduction, pp 12-14) that the tradition is current among the Jains of the Tamil country

2 The *Mahāpurāna*, also known as *Triṣaṣṭilakṣaṇa-Mahāpurāna*, consists of the *Ādipurāna* in fortyseven chapters and the

(Contd)

story of Jīvaka in a chapter of *Mahāpurāṇa*. The story is again found in *Śrīpurāṇam* which is a prose in *maṇipravāḷa* style, probably a rendering of this *Mahāpurāṇam*. In *Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi*, in *Gadyacintāmaṇi*[1] and *Jīvandhara-campū*[2] we have the same story worked out. Whether the author of the Tamiḻ work had any of these Sanskrit works as the basis for his composition we cannot assert with any definiteness[3].

Of all these Sanskrit works, *Mahāpurāṇa* is certainly the oldest and we have definite information that it belongs to the 8th century A.D., since it was composed by Jinasēna, the spiritual teacher of Amōghavarṣa of the

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Uttarapurana The first 42 chapters of the *Ādipurāṇa* are by Jinasēna while the last 5 chapters as also the whole of the *Uttarapurāna* are by his disciple Guṇabhadra. Critically edited with Hindi translation and introduction by Pt Pannalal Jain, Sanskrit Grantha Nos 8, 9 and 14, II edn , 1963-68

1 Both the *Kṣatracūḍāmani* and *Gadyacintāmaṇi* are by the Digambara Jaina author Oḍeyadēva-Vādībhasiṃha of the beginning of the 11th century (Winternitz *op. cit* , p. 535)

2 The Digambara Jaina Haricandra is the author of *Jīvandhara-campū*. This work has been edited with Sanskirt commentary, Hindi translation and introduction by Pt. Pannalal Jain, Sanskrit Grantha No 18, 1958

3 M S Ramaswami Ayyangar (*op. cit.*, p 95) and S. Vaiyapuri Pillai (*History of Tamil Language and Literature*, 1956, p 160) are of the opinion that the work is noticeably influenced by the two works of Oḍeyadēva-Vādībhasiṃha referred to above. Pillai, as a matter of fact, draws attention to the fact that there are in the *Jīvaka-Cintāmani*, literal translations from the two works of Vādībhasiṃha.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty.[1] But Jinasēna himself speaks of several previous works on which he bases his own composition. Anyhow it is generally agreed by scholars that this Tamiḻ classic *Jīvaka-Cintāmaṇi* is probably later than the 8th century A.D.[2] We may accept this verdict for the present. The work is divided into 13 *ilambakas* or chapters, the first beginning with the birth and education of the hero and the last ending with his *Nirvāṇa.*

1. *Nāmagaḷ-ilambakam*—The story begins with the description of the country Hēmāṅgada in Bharata-khaṇḍa Rājamāpuram is the capital of Hēmāṅgada. The ruler was Saccandaṉ of the Kuru dynasty This Saccandaṉ married his maternal uncle Śrīdattaṉ's daughter named Vijayā This Śrīdattaṉ was ruling over the country of Vidēha. Since the king Saccandaṉ was so much in love with his wife who was extremely beautiful, he spent most of his time in her apartment without attending to his state affairs He delegated to one of his ministers Kaṭṭiyaṅgāraṉ the royal privileges to be exercised This Kaṭṭiyaṅgāraṉ, when once he

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1 Amoghavarsha I who reigned from A D 814 to 886 was a mere boy of twelve at the time of his accession and hence his teacher Jinasēna should properly be assigned to the 9th century

2 T A Gopinatha Rao (*Śentamiḻ*, Vol V, p 15), T S Kuppuswami Sastri (*Tamiḻaham*,Vol I, p 130) and S Vaiyapuri Pillai (*History of Tamil Language and Literature*, 1956, p 161), among others, assign this work to the early decades of the 10th century

tasted the power and privilege of royalty, desired to usurp the same. The king, ignorant of such a Machievallian policy of his minister, to whom he foolishly entrusted the state affairs, discovered the mistake a little too late. In the meanwhile, the queen had three dreams of rather an unpleasant nature. When she wanted their interpretation from the king, he somehow consoled her not to worry about the dreams. Anticipating troubles from his ungrateful minister, it is said that he had constructed for him a sort of aerial vehicle like the modern aeroplane in the form of a peacock. This peacock machine was secretly constructed within the palace in order to carry two persons in the air, and he instructed his queen on how to manipulate this machine. When the queen was in the state of advanced pregnancy, the ungrateful Kaṭṭiyaṅgāraṇ wanted to realise his wish to usurp the kingdom and thus besieged the palace. Since the peacock machine was constructed to carry the weight of two persons alone and since the the queen was in an advanced state of pregnancy, the king thought it advisable to place the machine at her disposal and himself stayed behind. When the machine started up with the queen on it, the king with the drawn sword in his hand came out to meet the usurper. In the melee of the fight the king lost his life and the wicked Kaṭṭiyaṅgāraṇ proclaimed himself the king of Rājamāpuram. The queen, who had by that time reached the outskirts of the city, heard this royal proclamation resulting from the death of her royal husband and lost control of the machine which descended and landed on the cremation ground in the outskirts of this city. In the darkness of night she gave birth

to a son in those pitiable surroundings. The queen had nobody to help her and the child was crying helpless in the pitch-dark night on the cremation ground. It is said that one of the *dēvatās*, taking pity on the queen, assumed the form of one of her attendants in the palace and did service to her. Just then one of the merchants of the city carrying his dead child to be buried came there. There he met the beautiful child Jīvaka which was left alone by his mother at the advice of the *dēvatā*. The merchant, by name Kandukkaḍaṉ, was very much pleased at the sight of the royal baby which he recognised as such from the ring in the child's finger and took the live baby, the royal child, back to his house and gave it back to his wife, saying that her child was not dead. His wife gladly accepted this gift from her husband and brought him up thinking it her own. This child was Jīvaka, the hero of our story

The queen Vijayā, accompanied by the *dēvatā*, went to Daṇḍakāraṇya where she assumed the form of a female ascetic and stayed in a *tāpasa-āśrama*. Jīvaka was brought up in the merchant's house with a number of his cousins As a youth he was educated by one Accaṇandi-ācārya and also learnt archery and other arts requisite for a prince The *guru* who was attracted by the ability of his student one day narrated to him the tragic story of his royal family and took a promise from the youthful prince that he should not rush to revenge and recover his state till the expiry of one complete year. After getting this promise from the youthful disciple, the *guru* blessed the prince that he

would recover his kingdom after that period and discovered to him his own identity. Afterwards the *guru* left him and went his own way to perform *tapas* and attain *Nirvāṇa* after worshipping at the feet of the 24th Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra. Thus ends the first chapter devoted to the education of the prince Jīvaka, hence called *Nāmagaḷ-ilambakam*, Nāmagaḷ meaning Sarasvatī, the Goddess of tongue or speech.

2. *Gōvindaiyār-ilambakam*—While the prince was spending his time with his *chetty* cousins in the family of Kandukkaḍaṉ, the hill tribes from the borders carried away the cattle belonging to the king. The shepherds in charge of the cows, being unable to prevent this, ran to the king for help. The king immediately ordered his 100 sons to go and fight the hunters and recover the cattle. But they were all defeated by the hill tribes. The king did not know what to do next. But the chief of the shepherds had it published in the city that he would give away in marriage his daughter Gōvindā to any one who could successfully recover and and bring back the king's cows. Jīvaka heard this proclamation, went in pursuit of these *vēḍars*, and recovered all the cows. Since it would not be proper for a *kṣatriya* to marry a shephed maid, he, with the consent of Nandakōṉ, the shepherd chief, had Gōvindā married to his friend and associate Padumuhaṉ. Thus ends the second chapter dealing with the marriage of Gōvindā.

3. *Gāndharvadattaiyār-ilambakam*—Gāndharvadattā was the daughter of a *Vidyādhara* king named

Kaluṣavēga. Learning from an astrologer that his daughter would marry someone in Rājamahāpura, he wanted to send his daughter to that city. When he was waiting for an opportunity for this a merchant from that city Rājamahāpura, by name Śrīdatta, was returning home with ship-loads of gold as a result of his sea-borne trade. Just like the magic ship-wreck effected by Prospero in Shakespeare's *Tempest*, this *Vidyādhara* king did create a magic ship-wreck and managed to bring the merchant Śrīdatta to his court. There he was intimated why he was brought to the *Vidyādhara* capital; and he was instructed to take with him the princess Gāndharvadattā to be given in marriage to anybody who would defeat her in a *viṇā* contest. Returning to his capital with this *Vidyādhara* princess, Śrīdatta proclaimed to the citizens the conditions of *vīṇā-svayaṃvara* and offered the *Vidyādhara* princess to one who would succeed in this contest. This contest was arranged with the permission of Kaṭṭiyaṅgāraṇ the then ruling king Members belonging to the first three *varṇas* were invited for the contest. Every one got defeated by this princess Gāndharvadattā. Thus elapsed six days. On the seventh day the prince Jīvaka, who was taken by the citizens for merely a merchant's son, wanted to try his chance in this music contest. When Jīvaka exhibited his musical skill in this contest, the *Vidyādhara* princess acknowledged him to be victorious and accepted him as her husband. Several princes who were assembled there, out of jealousy, wanted to fight Jīvaka but all these were defeated and finally Jīvaka took Gāndharvadattā home where he

celebrated the regular formal marriage. Thus ends the third chapter of the marriage of Gāndharvadattā.

4. *Guṇamalaiyār - ilambakam*—On another day during the *vasanta* festival, the youth of the city went to the adjoining park for play and enjoyment. Among these were two young ladies Suramañjarī and Guṇamālā. Between them there arose a discussion as to the quality of the fragrant powder used for the purpose of bathing. Each claimed that her powder was superior. The matter was referred to the wise youth Jīvaka, who gave a verdict in favour of Guṇamālā Hearing the decision Suramañjarī was sorrow-struck and decided to shut herself up in the *kanyāmāḍa* with a vow that she would never see a male's face, till this very Jīvaka would come begging for her hand in marriage. While Suramañjarī desisted from taking part in the *vasanta* festival, Guṇamālā, encouraged by the verdict in her favour, went out to enjoy the festival Jīvaka himself on his way observed a dog beaten to death by some *brāhmaṇas* whose food was touched by this poor dog. When he saw the dying dog, he tried to help the poor creature and whispered to him the *pañca-namaskāra* with the hope that it would help the creature to have a better future. Accordingly the animal was born in *dēvalōka* as a *dēva* called Sudañjaṇa. This Sudañjaṇadēva immediately appeared before Jīvaka to express his sense of gratitude and was willing to serve him. But Jīvaka sent him back with the instruction that he would send for him whenever he was in need. While he thus dismissed the *dēva*, he witnessed a terrible scene. The king's elephant escaped from its place and imme-

diately ran towards the *udayāna* in front of the people returning home after the festival. Just then he saw Guṇamālā returning home with her attendants. They were all frightened at the sight of the mad elephant. Jīvaka rushed to their rescue, subdued the king's elephant and made it return home quietly; and thus made the way clear for Guṇamālā and her friends. While Guṇamālā saw the beautiful prince, she immediately fell in love with him. This was reported to her parents who arranged for the marriage of Guṇamālā with Jīvaka, which was accordingly celebrated. But the king Kaṭṭiyaṅgāraṇ came to know of the chastisement of his royal elephant and sent his sons and brother-in-law Madaṇaṇ to bring this *chetty* boy Jīvaka. They, with a number of soldiers, came and surrounded Kandukkaḍaṇ's house Though Jīvaka wanted to fight against them, he remembered his promise to his *guru* to keep quiet for one full year and therefore was not in a position to defend himself. Thus in difficulty he remembered his friend Sudañjaṇadēva who immediately brought about a cyclone and rain and thus created confusion among his enemies. In this confusion Jīvaka was lifted and carried away by his friend Sudañjaṇadēva to his own place. The king's officers, in their confusion, were not able to find out Jīvaka. They killed some one else; and reported the matter to the king that they could not bring Jīvaka alive and therefore they had to kill him in the confusion created by the cyclone. The king was very much pleased with this result and rewarded them all amply.

5. *Padumaiyār-ilambakam*—Since Jīvaka expressed his desire to return home, Sudañjaṇadēva, before parting with his friend Jīvaka, instructed him in three imporant *vidyās* which might be useful to him in life. These were : (1) the capacity to assume a beautiful form to be envied even by the God of Love, (2) to cure the effects of deadly poison and (3) to take any form desired. After instructing him in these three useful *mantras*, the *dēva* directed his friend the way he is to take to reach home. Leaving the land of his friend Sudañjaṇadēva, he roamed about in several places doing useful service to very many who were in suffering. Finally he reached the city of Candrābha in Pallava-dēśa. There he became a friend of Lōkapāla, the Pallava prince. This prince's sister Padmā, one day, when she went to gather flowers, got bitten by a cobra Jīvaka saved her from the effect of poison through the *mantra* given to him by the *dēva* Sudañjaṇa. As a reward of this good service, he had Padmā given to him in marriage by the Pallava king. There he stayed for a few months when he left the city *in cognito* all of a sudden The princess was in great sorrow because of the disappearance of her hushand. The king sent messengers in search of his son-in-law Jīvaka. They were told by Jīvaka himself in disguise that there would be no use in searching for him now, and that he would of his own accord return after nine months. With this glad tidings the messengers went back and comforted the princess Padmā. Thus ends the *Padumaiyār-ilambakam*.

6. *Kēmaśariyār-ilambakam*—Then Jīvaka reached Kēmapurī in Ṭakka-nāḍu. In that Kēmapurī there was a merchant by name Subhaddiraṉ. He had a daughter by name Kēmaśari. Astrologers told this merchant that the youth who at the sight produced the emotion of modesty and love in his daughter would become her husband. The merchant in search of a son-in-law tried several times to bring about such a situation to discover the predicted emotion in his daughter. But all cases proved failures till he came upon Jīvaka. When Jīvaka was invited to his house, he observed to his great joy that his daughter Kēmaśari at the first sight fell in love with Jīvaka. He gladly gave his daughter Kēmaśari in marriage to Jīvaka who stayed with his wife for some time Again he left the place in disguise, without the knowledge of anybody, to the great grief of his new wife Kēmaśari.

7. *Kanakamālaiyār-ilambakam*—Then Jīvaka reached Hēmapura in Madhya-dēśa Reaching the *udyāna* in the outskirts of the city, he met Vijaya the son of Daḍamittaṉ, the king of Hēmapura This Vijaya was attempting to get a mango fruit from a tree in the garden with the help of his arrow. But he could not succeed. The stranger Jīvaka brought down the fruit at his first aim; at this Vijaya was very much delighted; and he reported the stranger's arrival to the king, his father. The king was very much pleased to receive Jīvaka and requested him to instruct his sons in archery. When his sons became experts in archery as a result of Jīvaka's instruction, the king out of gratitude and pleasure offered his daughter Kanakamālai in

marriage to Jīvaka. He was living with Kanakamālai for some time. In the meanwhile, his cousin Nandaṭṭaṉ, not knowing the whereabouts of Jīvaka, wanted to go about in search of him. Gāndharvadattā, the *Vidyādhara* princess and Jīvaka's first wife, gave the information about the exact whereabouts of Jīvaka at the moment. Through the help of her *vidyā*, she managed to lead Nandaṭṭaṉ to Hēmapura where he stayed with his friends. Jīvaka's other friends went in search of him. On their way they met the old queen Vijayā in a *tavappaḷḷi*. She was informed of all that happened to Jīvaka after she left the baby on the cremation ground. And she expressed a great desire to meet her son, and they promised to arrange for such a meeting within a month and left the *tavappaḷḷi* to go to Jīvaka. While Jīvaka was living with his new wife Kanakamālai, they pretended to besiege the town in order to meet Jīvaka. Jīvaka with his cousin Nandaṭṭaṉ gathered large forces and went out to meet the besieging army in battle. Padumuhaṉ who was in charge of the army outside and a friend of Jīvaka despatched his first arrow with a message tied to it informing Jīvaka of his own identity and the object of the visit. When the arrow fell at the feet of Jīvaka, he picked it up and read the message to his great joy Recognising that they were all his friends he invited them all into the city and introduced them to the king and father-in-law. When Jīvaka learnt from his friends about his mother and her eagerness to meet him, he took leave of the king and his wife Kanakamālai who was asked to stay with her father. He started from the city with all his friends to meet his old mother. Jīvaka

together with his associates reached Daṇḍakāraṇya and met his old mother Vijayā. Vijayā embraced her son with great joy because of the separation of several years. Thus he spent 6 days in the *tavappaḷḷi* with his mother Vijayā. She advised her son to meet his maternal uncle Gōvindarāja and to take his advice and help for the purpose of recovering his father's lost kingdom. He sent his mother in the company of a few female ascetics to his uncle's place, while he himself with his friends went towards Rājamahāpuram. They all camped in a garden adjoining the city.

8. *Vimalaiyār - ilambakam* — Next day Jīvaka, leaving his friends there, went into the city assuming a beautiful form which could attract even the God of Love. While he was walking along the streets of the city, there appeared before him Vimalā who ran into the street to pick her ball which went astray while she was playing At the sight of that handsome Jīvaka, she fell in love with him. She was the daughter of a merchant by name Sāgaradatta. Jīvaka went and sat in Sāgaradatta's shop just to take rest. The large stock of sugar, which he had in store for a long time unsold, was disposed off immediately after the visit of the stranger to the shop. This was taken to be a very good omen by the merchant Sāgaradatta, as he had learnt previously from the astrologers "that he whose presence would lead to the complete disposal of his unsold goods would be the proper son-in-law for him." He gladly offered his daughter Vimalā in marriage to this beautiful youth. Jīvaka accepted Vimalā in marriage and spent with her just two days and the

third morning he went back to his friends' camp in the garden outside the city.

9. *Suramañjarī-ilambakam*—His friends observed Jīvaka with the marks of a fresh bridegroom and wanted to know the identity of his fresh matrimonial conquest. When Jīvaka told them that he had married Vimalā, the merchant's daughter, they all congratulated him that he was the veritable Kāma. But one of his friends named Buddhiṣēṇa was not willing to congratulate him for this paltry achievement; for, in the city there was one Suramañjarī who would not brook to see a male's face · and if Jīvaka succeeded in marying her, then he would be congratulated as the veritable God of Love. Jīvaka took up the challenge. Next day he assumed the form of a very old *brāhmana* mendicant and appeared before the gate of Suramañjarī. Suramañjarī's maid servants informed their mistress of the appearance of the *brāhmaṇa* mendicant at her gate begging for some food. Suramañjarī, thinking that an old and frail *brāhmaṇa* mendicant would not lead to the violation of her vow, instructed her servants to bring the old man into the house. There the old mendicant was received as an honoured guest and was offered the finest food that she could arrange for. After dinner the old man took rest on a beautiful bed prepared for him. After a few minutes' nap the old man sang a very beautiful song which was identified by Suramañjarī as Jīvaka's. This roused in her the old desire to win over Jīvaka for herself. She decided to go to the temple of Love the next day to offer worship to the God of Love that she might at last

get Jīvaka as her husband. Even before Jīvaka took the shape of a *brāhmaṇa* mendicant, he arranged with his friend Buddhiṣēṇa that he should remain hiding behind the God of Love in the temple and that when Suramañjarī begged the God to help her to win Jīvaka he must answer her favourably from behind the idol. So next day when Suramañjarī with her attendants wanted to go to the temple of Love, she took with her in the carriage this old *brāhmaṇa* mendicant. He was left in one of the front rooms of the temple, while Suramañjarī went into the temple to offer *pūjā*. After the *pūjā* was over, she begged the God of Love to promise success in her adventure. Immediately there came a voice from inside the temple "Yes, you have won already Jīvaka". In great delight she wanted to return home , and when she went to pick up the old mendicant on her way, Lo ! she found there the youthful prince Jīvaka instead of the old *brāhmaṇa* mendicant. There was no limit to her joy She clasped him in great delight and announced that she would marry him. The matter was intimated to her father Kubēradatta who was very glad to have the marriage celebrated immediately From this city of Rājamāpura he took leave of his foster-father and went out with his friends in the disguise of a horse dealer

10 *Maṇmagaḷ-ilambakam*—Thus Jīvaka with his friends entered Vidaiya-nāḍu, the land of his uncle Gōvindarāja He was received by his uncle with great joy There he discussed with his uncle as to the method of reconquering his country Hēmāṅgada from the usurper Kaṭṭiyaṅgāraṇ. Gōvindarāja tried to

get Kaṭṭiyaṅgāraṉ to his place by a stratagem. This Gōvindarāja had a beautiful daughter named Ilakkaṇai. He proclaimed the conditions of a *svayaṃvara* and set up a machine in the form of a boar which was always rotating; he who successfully hit the rotating boar would be accepted as the fitting husband to the princess. Kaṭṭiyaṅgāraṉ and several other princes were assembled at the court of Gōvindarāja in order to try their luck at the *svayaṃvara*. But none was really successful. At last Jīvaka appeared on the scene on the back of an elephant. The very sight made Kaṭṭiyaṅgāraṉ frightened. Jīvaka, whom he considered to be dead and gone, was before him fully alive. He got down from the elephant's back and hit at the boar-mark successfully with his arrow, and won the hand of the princess in the *svayaṃvara*. Then his uncle Gōvindarāja openly announced who this young man was and sent an ultimatum to Kaṭṭiyaṅgāraṉ to return back his kingdom. But Kaṭṭiyaṅgāraṉ accepted the challenge and preferred to fight. He was defeated and killed in a regular battle together with his hundred sons Jīvaka was victorious. At the news of the victory, his old mother was in great joy and felt that her life-purpose was fulfilled.

11. *Pūmagaḷ-ilambakam*—Then Jīvaka, after the victory, marched to his own city Rājamāpuram where he had the coronation ceremony conducted in a grand manner to the delight of his friends and relations. This is spoken of as the marriage with the Bhūmidēvī, the Spirit of the earth, because Jīvaka's previous career was one of a glorious stream of marriages.

12. *Ilakkaṇaiyār - ilambakam* — After assuming the kingship over Hēmāṅgada-nāḍu he had the celebration of the marriage with his uncle's daughter Ilakkaṇai who was won in the last *svayaṃvara*, by his successful hitting at the boar-mark, and rewarded all his friends in a fitting manner. His foster-father was elevated to royal honour. His friends were given several presents. He gave away all the wealth of Kaṭṭiyaṅgāraṉ to his uncle Gōvindarāja. He built a temple in honour of his friend Sudañjaṇadēva Thus during his reign all were satisfied and the country enjoyed plenty and prosperity.

13. *Mutti-ilambakam*—While they were all living in happiness, one day his old mother Vijayā expressed her desire to renounce all these worldly pleasures and wanted to live the life of an ascetic Thus, with the permission of her son and king, she spent her remaining days in a *tapasa-āśrama* in prayer and spiritual discipline. The king Jivaka, while wandering in the *udyāna*, one day noticed a curious phenomenon. He observed a monkey with her lover enjoying their happy life. Immediately he saw the male monkey fetching a fine jack fruit to offer to his mate. Just then the gardener, noticing the jack fruit in the hands of the monkey, beat him with his stick and took away the jack fruit which he did eat. When this was noticed by Jīvaka, he realised that this was symbolic of all worldly riches, always taken possession of by the mightier at the cost of the weaker. Even royal honour is no exception to this Everywhere he found the principle 'might is right' triumphant. He saw that

in the life of Kaṭṭiyaṅgāraṉ and he immediately knew in his own life the same principle illustrated. Royal honour resting on such unethical foundation was certainly not the thing to be coveted for. Therefore he resolved to abdicate his kingdom in favour of his son and retire from sovereignty to spend the rest of his life in penance. So he went away to the place where Mahāvīra was, got instruction in spiritual matters from Gaṇadhara Sudharma who initiated him into spiritual life and penance. Thus Jīvaka spent the rest of his period in meditation and finally attained *Nirvāṇa* as the fruit of his meditation and penance. Thus ended the glorious life of the great *kṣatriya* hero Jīvaka in whose honour this monumental Tamiḻ classic was composed by the author Tiruttakkadēva.

This classic contains 3145 stanzas. An excellent edition containing a fine commentary by Naccinārkkiniyar is now available, and it is by the famous scholar Mahāmahōpādhyāya Dr. V. Swaminatha Ayyar who has devoted all his life to the publication of rare Tamiḻ classics.

Let us now turn to the five minor *kāvyas*[1] which are (1) *Yaśodhara*, (2) *Cūḍāmaṇi*[2] (3) *Udayaṇaṉ-kathai*, (4) *Nagakumāra-kāvyam* and (5) *Nīlakeśi*. All these five minor epics were composed by Jaina authors.

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1 These are popularly known as *Aiñ-ciṟukkāppiyaṅgaḷ*.

2 Of the five minor *kavyas*, *Cintamaṇi* has been edited by Damodaram Pillai (1889). Besides, *Vacana-Cintāmaṇi* (1898) by the same editor is a prose rendering of *Cintāmaṇi* in easy style and diction

(1) Yaśōdhara-kāvya:–Unlike Jaina literary works in Sanskrit, where the authors generally give a bit of autobiographic information, either at the beginning or at the end of the work, in Tamiḻ literature, the author maintains absolute silence on that matter. It is very often difficult to know even the name of the author, not to speak of other details relating to his life. We have to depend upon purely circumstantial evidence as to the life of the author. Sometimes such circumstantial evidence will be extremely meagre, and we have to confess our ignorance about the author and his life. Such is the case with this *Yaśōdhara-kavya*. Practically nothing is known about the author except that he was a Jaina ascetic. From the nature of the story all that we can infer is that it is later than the Hindu doctrine of *yaga* as reformed by Madhvācārya Madhvācārya, the famous Vēdāntic scholar, introduced a healthy reform that Vēdic ritual could very well be continued without involving animal sacrifice, if a substitute for the animal be introduced in the same form made of rice-flour The story of *Yaśōdhara-kavya* is evidently intended to reject this ritualism even with this substitute The moral value of conduct depends upon the harmony between thought, word and deed, *manas*, *vak* and *kaya*. In this particular form of ritualism, though the actual deed is avoided, there is still lacking the harmony and co-operation of the other two. The desire to sacrifice an animal and to pronounce the necessary *mantras* being there, the substitution of a mock-animal would not relieve an agent of any of his responsibility for animal sacrifice.

This seems to be the main theme of the story in which incidentally many of the doctrines relating to the Jaina religion are introduced. Hence the work must be placed after the period of the reformation in ritualism associated with the founder of Mādhva philosophy.

The scene of the story is laid in Rājapura in Ouḍaya-dēśa, in Bharata-khaṇḍa. Māridatta is the name of the king. There is a Kālī temple in the city dedicated to Caṇḍa-Māridēvī. It was the time of a great festival for this Caṇḍa-Māridēvī. For the purpose of sacrificing, there were gathered in the temple precincts, pairs of birds and animals, male and female, such as fowls, peacocks, birds, goats, buffaloes and so on. These were brought by the people of the town as their offerings to the *dēvī*. The king Māridatta, to be consistent with the status and position of *rāja*, wanted to offer as sacrifice not merely the ordinary beasts or birds but a pair of human beings as well. So he instructed his officer to fetch a pair of human beings, a male and a female, to be offered as a sacrifice to the goddess Kālī. The officer accordingly went about in search of human victims. Just about that time a Jaina *Saṅgha* consisting of 500 ascetics presided over by Sudattācārya came and settled at the park in the outskirts of the city. In this *Saṅgha* there were two youths Abhayaruci and Abhayamati, brother and sister. These two young apprentices, since they were not accustomed to the rigorous discipline characteristic of the grown up monks in the *Saṅgha*, were very much fatigued on account of the long travel and were permitted by the head of the *Saṅgha* to enter the town for

obtaining alms for themselves. The officer of the king, who went about in search of human victims, was very glad to capture these two beautiful youths and marched them to the Kālī temple and informed the king of his capture The king Māridatta gladly went to the Kālī temple with the object of offering his sacrifice with these beautiful youths. The people assembled there asked these two beautiful youths to prey to Kālī that, as a result of this great sacrifice, blessings must be showered on the king and the land. The two ascetics smiled at this request; and they themselves blessed the king that he might be weaned from this cruel form of worship, so that he might have the pleasure of accepting the noble *ahiṃsā-dharma* which would lead him to a safe spiritual haven. When they pronounced this with a smile on their beautiful faces, the king was nonplussed for he could not understand how two such young and beautiful persons, in the face of death, could have such peace of mind as to laugh at the whole game as if it were none of their own concern. Therefore the king wanted to know the reason why they laughed at such a grave moment and expressed a desire to know who they were, and why they had come to the city, and so on The sword drawn for sacrifice was sheathed again, and the king was in a mood to know the reason for the queer behaviour of the two youths. As desired by the king the brother Abhayaruci began to answer: "The reason why we laughed, without being in fright, was the result of the knowledge that everything that happens to an individual is but the fruit of his previous *karma*. Fear to

escape the fruits of one's own *karma* is but the result of ignorance. Hence we were not afraid of our own fate which is the consequence of our own previous action. We have to laugh simply because the whole scene here is steeped in so much ignorance. As a result of our own conduct that we sacrificed a fowl made up of rice-flour, we had to suffer and endure for seven births, successively taking the form of lower animals and suffering all sorts of pain. Only in this period, we have the good fortune to regain our human form. We know very well that all this suffering was the result of our silly desire to offer sacrifice to Kālī, though the actual victim of sacrifices was merely an imitation fowl made of flour. After realising this, when your people asked us to pray to Caṇḍa-Māri-dēvī for the prosperity and welfare of yourself and your kingdom as a result of the sacrifice of several animals and birds together with human beings, we could not but laugh at the simplicity and ignorance of the people here."

When the king heard this, he gave up the idea of sacrifice and wanted to know more about the life of the two victims who exhibited such magnificent peace of mind even in the very jaws of death. Thus ends the first section.

In the second section is narrated the story of these two youths and how they brought upon themselves all the troubles on account of sacrificing a mock-fowl. The scene is laid in Ujjain, the capital of Avanti of Mālava-dēśa. The ruler of the country was one Aśōka.

His queen was Candramatī. Yaśōdhara was their son. It is this prince Yaśōdhara that is the hero of this story. This Yaśōdhara married a beautiful princess by name of Amṛtamatī. This beautiful queen gave birth to a son Yaśōmati. The old king Aśōka abdicated the kingdom in favour of his son Yaśōdhara and instructed him to observe the principles of righteous rule according to *rājanīti* He instructed his son on how he should safeguard *dharma, artha* and *kāma*, the three *puruṣārthas* He should maintain religion and religious worship at a high level of purity based upon the *ahiṃsā* doctrine. Having given all this advice and after establishing his son as the king of the land, the old king adopted the life of an ascetic and spent his time in an *āśrama* While the king Yaśōdhara and his queen Amṛtamatī were living happily, one early morning the queen heard the sweet music of the elephant-keeper singing in *malapañcama-rāga*. The queen was attracted by the music and sent her attendant Guṇavatī to procure the person who was responsible for such sweet music This information created a surprise in that attendant who advised the queen to remember her status and prestige ; but as she insisted on having the person with whom she fell in love, the attendant had to bring the keeper of the elephant who was a detestable leper. Even in spite of this deformity, the foolish queen entered into an intimacy with that wretch. The king was at first ignorant of the whole affair. But soon the king came to know of this disgusting behaviour of the queen. Noticing the peculiar estrangement in her behaviour, he himself

grew weary of worldly riches and was trying to discard the kingly pleasures and renounce the world. Just then he had an ominous dream in which the moon from the high skies was observed to fall down towards the earth losing all her light and glory. The king feared that this was symbolic of some calamity and wanted to know how to avoid the evil foretold in this dream. The queen-mother was consulted by the king who was advised to offer some animal sacrifice to Kālī for the purpose of warding off such a calamity. The king, because he was a faithful follower of *ahiṃsā-dharma*, could not reconcile himself to animal sacrifice. Hence the king and his queen-mother both arrived at a compromise according to which the king had to offer a fowl made of rice-flour as a sacrifice to Kālī. So the mock-fowl was offered as a sacrifice to Kālī. Thus troubles began In the meanwhile, the queen, knowing that her conduct was discovered by the king and the queen-mother, hated them both and finally succeeded in killing them by poisoning them. Thus, after disposing off the king and his mother, this wicked queen Amṛtamatī made her own son Yaśōmati the king of Āvanti-dēśa. After the death of Yaśōdhara and his queen-mother Candramatī as a result of the sin of sacrificing to Kālī, they were born as lower animals for seven births in succession.

The third section is the description of the various *janmas* taken by the king Yaśōdhara and his mother as lower animals and birds, and the grief and suffering that they had to undergo.

In the fourth section the narrative of the new king Yośōmati is given and also the story of Abhayaruci and Abhayamatī who were in their previous births Yośōdhara and his queen-mother Candramatī. Finally, when Māridatta learnt the whole story, he desired to know more about this noble truth *ahiṃsā*; and he was taken to the *guru* who was camping in the *udyāna* in the outskirts of the city where the king had the initiation into the noble faith of *ahiṃsā*. Thereafter, he not only gave up the offering of animal sacrifice to Kālī himself, but also proclaimed to his people that such a sacrifice should not be offered any longer. Thus he elevated the religion and temple worship to a higher and nobler level all over his land This is the story of the *Yaśōdhara-kāvya* in Tamiḻ about whose author we know nothing, The story is found even in Sanskrit literature There is a Sanskrit *Yaśōdhara-kāvya* dealing with the same story. But it is not clearly known which is earlier, the Tamiḻ or the Sanskrit one.

The Tamiḻ *Yaśōdhara-kāvya* was first published by the late T. Venkatarama Iyengar, an esteemed friend of the present writer. Unfortunately the edition is out of print and hence not available to readers at present.

(2) Cūḻāmaṇi:— It is composed by the Jaina author and poet Tolāmoḻittēvar. He was evidently under the patronage of the chief Vijaya of Kārveṭnagar. The editor of this work, Damodaram Pillai, is of opinion that it must be earlier than some of the major *kāvyas* His conclusion is based upon the fact that several stanzas from *Cūḷāmaṇi* are quoted by Amṛtasā-

gara, the author of *Yāpparuṅgalakkārikai*. *Cūḷāmaṇi* is based upon a Purāṇic story contained in the *Mahāpurrāṇa* by Jinasēna. The hero of the story is one Tiviṭṭaṉ, one of the nine Vāsudēvas according to the Jaina tradition, of whom Kṛṣṇa of *Bhārata* fame is one. *Cūḷāmaṇi* resembles *Cintāmaṇi* in poetic excellence. It contains 12 *sargas* and 2131 stanzas on the whole. The story runs as follows: Prajāpati, King of Suramaidēśa, whose capital was Pōtanapura, had two principal queens, Mṛgāvatī and Jayavatī. Tiviṭṭaṉ, the hero, was the son of the *mahādēvī* Mṛgāvatī, Vijaya the son of Jayavatī and this was the elder of the two. Vijaya and Tiviṭṭaṉ were exactly corresponding to Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, the former fair, and the latter dark in complexion. A soothsayer told the king Prajāpati that his son Tiviṭṭaṉ would marry a *Vidyādhara* princess very shortly. The *Vidyādhara* king of Rādānūpura had a daughter by name Svayamprabhā who was very beautiful. This *Vidyādhara* king also had a prediction made by a soothsayer that his daughter Svayamprabhā would marry a *kṣatriya* prince of Pōtanapura. The *Vidyādhara* monarch sent one of his ministers with a letter to the king Prajāpati offering his daughter in marriage to Tiviṭṭaṉ. King Prajāpati of Pōtanapura, though surprised at first at this offer from the *Vidyādhara* king, consented to the marriage. In the meanwhile, the matter was known to the *Vidyādhara* emperor Aśvagrīva to whom both Prajāpati and the father of Svayamprabhā were subordinates. Aśvagrīva, the *Vidyādhara* emperor, demanded from the father of Tiviṭṭaṉ the usual tribute. King Prajāpati, fearing the

wrath of the *Vidyādhara* emperor, ordered the tribute to be paid immediately. But his son Tiviṭṭaṉ would not permit this. He denied allegiance to the *Vidyādhara* emperor and sent the messenger back saying "No tribute will be paid hereafter." One of the *Vidyādhara* ministers attached to Aśvagrīva's court wanted to kill this foolhardy *kṣatriya* youth Tiviṭṭaṉ by a stratagem. He assumed the form of a lion and destroyed the cattle of the land of Suramai belonging to the king Prajāpati. The sons of Prajāpati, Tiviṭṭaṉ and Vijaya, set out to slay the lion. The lion, which was the assumed form of the *Vidyādhara* minister, cleverly decoyed Tiviṭṭaṉ into a cave. Tiviṭṭaṉ pursued the lion into the cave. There was a real lion in that cave which devoured the *māyā* lion and wanted to have Tiviṭṭaṉ also. Tiviṭṭaṉ was not to be frightened by this The *Vidyādhara* lion having disappeared into the mouth of the real lion of the cave, he caught hold of the head of the real lion and killed it easily. This killing of the lion was a part of the prediction given by the soothsayer to the king of Rādānūpura, the father of Svayamprabhā, who was to be given in marriage to Tiviṭṭaṉ. Therefore the king of Rādānūpura set out with his daughter Svayamprabhā for Pōtanapura where the *Vidhyādhara* princess was given in marriage to the gallant Tiviṭṭaṉ. The *Vidhyādhara* emperor Aśvagrīva, boiling with wrath because of the treatment meted out to his messenger by his subject's son Tiviṭṭaṉ, had now his anger aggravated because of the latter's marriage with a *Vidyādhara* princess. He could not brook the idea of an

ordinary *kṣatriya* prince, and that too the son of his own subordinate, marrying a *Vidyādhara* princess of his own noble race. He marched with his mighty force against Tiviṭṭaṉ. A war ensued. Tiviṭṭaṉ, being a Vāsudēva, was in possession of divine magic powers, and with his *cakra* made a clean sweep of the *Vidyādhara* army and finally slew the *Vidyādhara* emperor Aśvagrīva himself. The result of this victory made Tiviṭṭaṉ's father-in-law suzerain lord for the whole of the *Vidyādhara* land. Tiviṭṭaṉ himself inherited his father's domain and lived happily with his *Vidyādhara* bride Svayamprabhā together with his several thousand other spouses He had a son by his *Vidyādhara* bride Svayamprabhā named Amṛtasēna. He gave his sister in marriage to his brother-in-law Arkakīrti and by his sister a daughter was born called Sudārai and also a son. Tiviṭṭaṉ had another daughter by name Jōtimālai for whose marriage he proclaimed a *svayaṃvara.* This daughter chose for her husband her maternal uncle, Arkakīrti, whereas the *Vidyādhara* princess chose his own son Amṛtasēna. Thus by these two marriages the alliance between the Pōtanapura dynasty and the *Vidyadhara* dynasty was further strengthened. Thus, when the two countries were living in happiness and the people were enjoying prosperity, the old king Prajāpati renounced the kingdom in favour of his son and passed the remainder of his life in *yōga* and meditation. As a result of this *Jina-dīkṣā* and spiritual penance the king Prajāpati escaped from *saṁsāra* and attained *mukti.* Thus ends

the story of *Cūḷāmaṇi*, a very important work included in the category of the five minor *kāvyas.*

(3) *Nīlakēśi.*[1]—This is also one of the five minor *kāvyas* which is evidently by a Jaina philosopher-poet about whom we know nothing. It is a controversial work dealing with the systems of Indian philosophy and it has an excellent commentary called *Samaya-divākara* by one Vāmana-muni. This Vāmana-muni is the same as the author of another classic called *Mērumandirapurāṇam.* *Nīlakēśi* appears to be a refutation of the Buddhistic work *Kuṇḍalakēśi* which is unfortunately lost now. This *Kuṇḍalakēśi* was included under the category of the five *mahākāvyas.* Though the Tamiḻ classic of this name is lost to the world, the story of *Kuṇḍalakēśī* as found in the Buddhistic work is given below for the simple reason that the related story of *Nīlakēśi* is modelled after *Kuṇḍalakēśi* and is intended to be a refutation of *Kuṇḍalakēśi*'s philosophy. The story of *Kuṇḍalakēśi* is as follows, taken from *The Buddhist Legends* (H. O. S.).

A rich merchant of Rājagṛha, it seems, had an only daughter who was about sixteen years of age, and she was exceedingly beautiful and fair to see When women reach this age, they burn and long for men. Her mother and father lodged her on the topmost

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1 The learned author has written and published a detailed introductory treatise on *Neelakēśi* (Kumbakonam, 1936) making the contents of this work of great literary merit available to the world of scholars.

floor of a seven-storied palace in an apartment of royal splendour, and gave her only a single slave-woman to wait upon her.

Now one day a young man of station was caught in the act of robbery. They bound his hands behind his back and led him to the place of execution, scourging him with lashes at every cross-road The merchant's daughter heard the shouts of the crowd, said to herself, "What is that?", looked down from the top of of the palace, and saw him.

Straightaway she fell in love with him So great, in fact, was her longing for him that she took to her bed and refused to eat. Her mother asked her, 'What does this mean, my dear daughter ?'. 'If I can have that young man who was caught in the act of committing robbery and who was led through the streets, life will be worth living ; otherwise I shall die here and now'. 'Do not act in this manner, my dear daughter ; you shall have someone else for your husband, someone who is our equal in birth and family and wealth'. 'I will have no one else ; if I cannot have this man, I shall die.'

The mother, unable to pacify her daughter, told the father but the father likewise was unable to pacify his daughter. 'What is to be done ?', thought he. He sent a thousand pieces of money to the king's officer who had captured the robber and who was accompanying him to the place of excecution, saying, 'Take the money and send the robber to me.' 'Very well' said the king's officer. He took the money and released the

robber, had another man put to death, and sent word to the king 'The robber has an executed, Your Majesty.'

The merchant gave his daughter in marriage to this robber. She resolved to win the favour of her hnsband, and from that time on, adorned with all her ornaments, she prepared her husband's meal with her own hand. After a few days the robber thought to himself, 'When can I kill this woman, take her jewels and sell them, and so be able to take my meals in a certain tavern? This is the way.'

He took to his bed and refused to eat. She came to him and asked, 'Are you in pain?' 'Not at all, wife' 'Then perhaps my morher and father are angry with you?' 'They are not angry with me, wife' 'What is the matter, then?' 'Wife, that day when I was bound and led through the streets, I saved my life by vowing an offering to the deity that lives on Robber's cliff; likewise it was through His supernatural power that I gained you for my wife. I was wondering how I could fulfil my vow of an offering to the deity.' 'Husband, do not worry, I will see to the offering, tell me what is needed'. 'Rich rice-porridge flavoured with honey; and the five kinds of flowers including the *tāja* flower.' Very well, husband, I will make ready the offering'.

Having prepared the whole offering, she said to her husband 'Come, husband, let us go.' 'Very well, wife; let your kinsmen remain behind; put on your costly garments and adorn yourself with your precious jewels, and we will go gaily, laughing and disporting

ourselves.' She did as she was told. When they reached the foot of the mountain, the robber said to her, 'Wife, from this point on let us two go alone; we will send back the rest of the company in a conveyance; you take the vessel containing the offering and carry it yourself.' She did as she was told.

The robber took her in his arms and climbed the mountain to the top of the Robber's cliff. (One side of this mountain men can climb; but the other side is a precipitous cliff, from the top of which robbers are flung, being dashed to pieces before they reached the bottom; therefore it is called 'Robber's cliff'). Standing on the top of the mountain, she said, 'Husband, present the offerings'. Her husband made no reply. Again she spoke, 'Husband, why do you remain silent'. Then he said to her, 'I have no use for the offering, I deceived you in bringing you here with an offering'. 'Then why did you bring me here, husband?' 'To kill you, seize your jewels, and escape.' Terrified with the fear of death, she said to him, 'Husband, both my jewels and my person belong to you; why do you speak thus?'. Over and over again she pleaded with him, 'Do not do this,' but his reply only was 'I will kill you.' 'After all, what will you gain by killing me? Take these jewels and spare my life, henceforth regard me as your mother, or else let me be your slave-woman and work for you.' So saying, she recited the following stanza:

> Take these golden bracelets, all set with beryls
> Take all, and welcome; call me your slave-woman.

The robber, hearing this, said to her, 'Despite what you say, were I to spare your life, you would go and tell your mother and father all. I will kill you. That is all. Lament not with vehement lamentation.' So saying he recited the following stanza :

Lament not over much;
tie up your possession quickly.
You have not long to live;
I shall take all your possessions.

She thought to herself, 'Oh, what a wicked deed is this ? However, wisdom was not made to be cooked and eaten, but rather to make men look before they leap I shall find a way of dealing with him ' And she said to him, 'Husband, when they caught you in the act of committing robbery and led you through the streets, I told my mother and father, and they spent a thousand pieces of money in ransoming you and they gave you a place in their house, and from that time on I have been your benefactress; to-day do me the favour of letting me pay obeisance to you' 'Very well, wife,' said he, granted her the favour of paying obeisance to him, and then took his stand near the edge of the cliff.

She walked around him three times, keeping him on her right hand, and paid obeisance to him in the four places Then she said to him, 'Husband, this is the last time I shall see you Henceforth you will see me no more, neither shall I see you anymore ' And she embraced him both before and behind. Then, remaining behind him, as he stood off his guard near the edge of the cliff, she put one hand to his shoulder

and the other to his back, and flung him over the cliff. Thus was the robber hurled into the abyss of the mountain, and dashed to pieces when he reached the bottom. The deity that dwelt on the top of the Robber's cliff observed the actions of the two and, applauding the woman, uttered the following stanza:

Wisdom is not always confined to men;
A woman too is wise and shows it now and then.

Having thrown the robber over the cliff, the woman thought to herself, "If I go home, they will ask me, 'Where is your husband?' and if, in answer to this question, I say 'I have killed him' they will pierce me with the knives of their tongue, saying 'We ransomed the scoundrel with a thousand pieces of money and now you have killed him.' If, on the other hand, I say, 'He sought to kill me for my jewels,' they will not believe me. I am done with home." She caste off her jewels, went into the forest, and after wandering about for a time came to a certain hermitage of nuns. She reverently bowed and said, 'Sister, receive me into your Order as a nun'. So they received her as a nun.

After she had become a nun, she asked 'Sister, what is the goal of your religious life?' 'Sister, the development of spiritual ecstasy through the employment of the *kasinas*, or else the memorising of a thousand articles of faith, this is the highest aim of our religious life' 'Spiritual ecstasy I shall not be able to develop, Reverend Sister; But I will master the thousand articles of faith' When she mastered the thousand articles of faith, they said to her, 'You have

acquired proficiency ; now go through the length and breadth of the land of the Rose-Apple and look for some one able to match question and answer with you.'

So, placing a branch of Rose-Apple in her hands they dismissed her with these words, 'Go forth, Sister; if any one who is a layman is able to match question and answer with you, become his slave , if any monk, enter his Order as a nun, adopting the name 'Nun of the Rose Apple'. She left the hermitage and went about from place to place asking questions to everyone she saw. No one was able to match question and answer with her ; in fact, such a reputation did she acquire that whenever men heard the announcement, 'Here comes the Nun of the Rose-Apple,' they would run away

Before entering a town or village for alms, she would scrape a pile of sand together before the village gate and there plant her rose apple branch Then she would issue her challenge, 'Let him that is able to match question and answer with me trample this rose apple under his feet ' So saying, she would enter the village. No one dared to pass beyond that spot. When one branch withered, she would procure a fresh one.

Travelling about in this way, she arrived at Sāvatthī, planted the branch before the city gate, issued her challenge in the usual way, and went in to seek alms. A number of young boys gathered about the branch and waited to see what would happen Just then the elder Sārīputta, who had made his round and eaten

his breakfast and was on his way out of the city, saw those boys standing about the branch and asked them 'What does this mean ?'. The boys explained matters to the Elder. Said the Elder, 'Go ahead, boys, trample that branch under your feet.' 'We are afraid to, Reverend Sir.' 'I will answer the question; you go ahead and trample the branch under your feet.' The Elder's words supplied the boys with the necessary courage. Forthwith they trampled the branch under their feet shouting and kicking up dust.

When the nun returned, she rebuked them and said, 'I don't intend to bandy question and answer with you, how did you come to trample the branch under your feet ?' 'Our noble Elder told us to'. 'Reverend Sir, did you tell them to trample my branch under their feet ?' 'Yes, Sister.' 'Well then, match question and answer with me'. 'Very well, I will do so.'

As the shades of evening drew on, she went to the Elder's residence to put her questions. The entire city was stirred up. The people said to each other, 'Let us go and hear the talk of the two learned persons.' Accompanying the nun from the city to the Elder's residence, they bowed to the Elder and seated themselves respectfully on one side.

The nun said to the Elder, 'Reverend Sir, I wish to ask you a question.' 'Ask it, Sister.' So she asked him the thousand articles of faith. Every question the nun asked, the Elder answered correctly. Then he said to her, 'You have asked only these few questions; are there any others ?' 'These are all,

Reverend Sir.' 'You have asked many questions; I will ask you just one; will you answer me?.' 'Ask your question'. 'What is one?' She said to herself, 'This is the question I should be able to answer'; but not knowing the answer, she inquired of the Elder, 'What is it, Reverend Sir ?.' 'This is the Buddha's question, Sister.' 'Tell me also the answer, Reverend Sir.' 'If you will enter our Order, I will tell you the answer.' 'Very well, admit me to the Order.' The Elder sent word to the nuns and had her admitted. After being admitted to the Order, she made her full profession, took the name Kuṇḍalakēśī, and after a few days became an *Arhat* endowed with supernatural faculties.

In the Hall of Truth the monks began a discussion of the incident. 'Kuṇḍalakēśī heard little of the Law, and yet she succeeded in being admitted to the Order; moreover, she came here after fighting a fierce battle with a robber and defeating him' The teacher came in and asked them, 'Monks, what is it that you are sitting here discussing now?.' They told him "Monks, we assure not the Law. I have taught as being 'little' or 'much.' There is no superior merit in a hundred sentences that are meaningless; but one sentence of the Law is better He that defeats all other robbers wins no victory at all, but he who defeats the robbers, his own depravities, his is victory indeed." There he joined the connection and preaching the Law, pronounced the following stanza :

Though one should recite a hundred stanzas
Composed of meaningless sentences

Yet one Sentence of the Law were better
Which if a man hear he is at peace.

Though one should conquer a thousand
times a thousand men in battle,

Yet would he be the mightiest conqueror
Who should conquer one himself.

Nīlakēśi, which is one of the five minor *kāvyas* in Tamil, is evidently an answer to *Kuṇḍalakēśi*, the Buddhistic work. As is suggested by the author himself, the story is not taken from among the Purāṇic stories. The story is probably an imaginative creation by the author merely to serve as a frame-work for introducing philosophical discussions. The work has not seen the light of day up to the present. The present writer is trying to bring out an edition of this rare classic which is in press. In the course of a few months it may be made available to the public[1].

The story begins with a scene laid in Pāñcāla-dēśa which is otherwise known as Pārtti-nāḍu The king of the land is referred to be Samudrasāra and his capital is Puṇḍravardhana. On the outskirts of this city there is a cremation ground which goes by the name of Pāḷālaiyam. There is also a famous Kālī temple there. Just about the Kālī temple there is a Jaina *yōgin* called Municandra. One day people from the town brought as offering to the Kālī a number of beasts and birds. The Jaina *ācārya* asked them the reason for this extraordinary sacrifice. In answer they gave that these animals and

1. Since edited by him.

birds they had to offer to Kālī for the queen had given birth to a child as the result of Kālī's blessing. The Jaina *ācārya* informed those persons that the Goddess would be quite satisfied if baked clay models of animals and fowls were set up as their offerings before the Kālī temple. Such a procedure would be quite enough to satisfy the Goddess and to fulfil their vows. Further, it would relieve a number of animals from death and also save themselves from the sin of *hiṃsā*. This teaching evidently appealed to the people at large who drove away all their animals back to their homes. This behaviour of the people very much upset the Goddess Kālī who realised that she was not capable of frightening away the Jaina ascetic because of his superior spiritual culture. But now she wanted to drive him away from the precincts of the Kālī temple so that he might not interfere with the regular sacrifice. Hence she went about in search of her chief, the great Nīlakēśī, of the southern country, before whom the complaint was placed as to the Jaina ascetic's interference with the regular sacrifice and worship at the Kālī temple. The great Nīlakēśī marched towards the north in order to get rid of this Jaina *yōgin* and to restore regular worship and sacrifice at the Kālī temple at the city of Puṇḍravardhana Nīlakēśī created there several frightening situations hoping to drive away Municandrācārya. All her attempts to frighten the *yōgin* proved futile. He was not the person to be easily got rid of. He was firmly rooted in his practice of *yōga* and no amount of dreadful circumstances created in the environment would affect his calm and peaceful meditation. He went on as if nothing had taken place around him.

Then Nīlakēśī thought that the only way by which she could defeat this *yōgin* by some hook or crook, was to deviate him from his spiritual purpose and draw him towards sensual pleasures. She thought that this would be the surest way to spoil his penance. With this object in view, she put on the beautiful form of the princess of the land and began to play the coquette before the *yōgin*. She behaved even as a public courtezan trying to attract the *ācārya*. Even this attempt proved no more successful. In the meanwhile, Municandrācārya himself told her the whole truth. He made her understand that she was not really the princess from the royal household, that she was merely the chief of the *dēvatās* attempting to frighten him away from the place in order to restore their usual animal sacrifice. This plain speaking made her realise the greatness and the wisdom of the *yōgin*, and she confessed before him that all he stated was true and begged him to pardon her. When she was pardoned by the *yōgin*, she, out of gratitude, expressed her willingness to adopt, in future, a more healthy and reasonable course of life and wanted him to help her in this by teaching her the fundamental principles of *ahiṃsā*. When she heard the noble religious principles of *ahiṃsā* she felt extremely grateful to the *guru* and begged him to say what would be the best thanks-offering from the disciple. When he told her the best form of thanks-offering that he would have was for her to go about the land preaching this doctrine of *ahiṃsā*, she accordingly accepted the task and, therefore, taking the human form she devoted her time in propaganda work in favour of

the *ahiṃsā* doctrine. This is the subject matter of the opening chapter *Dharmav-urai-carukkam*.

The 2nd chapter, *Kuṇḍalakēśi-vāda-carukkam*, is devoted to the discussion that Nīlakēśī had with Kuṇḍalakēśī who was the representative of Buddhism. Naturally in this discussion Kuṇḍalakēśī is represented to be defeated by Nīlakēśī. Kuṇḍalakēśi is made to acknowledge her defeat and to accept the doctrine of *ahiṃsā*. Nīlakēśī learns from Kuṇḍalakēśī that her teacher is one Arhacandra, a Buddhistic scholar.

The 3rd chapter is devoted to the discussion with Arhacandra, who is also made to acknowledge his defeat in the discussion. Arhacandra, after accepting Nīlakēśī's religion of *ahiṃsā* directed her to Mokkala, one of the chief disciples of Gautama Śākyamuni and one of the early founders of the Buddhistic *Saṅgha*

The 4th chapter, *Mokkala-vāda-carukkam*, is devoted to Nīlakēśī's challenge to this Buddhistic teacher Mokkala who, in his turn, is defeated and made to acknowledge the rival faith. This is one of the biggest chapters in the book because of the important Buddhistic doctrines which are discussed in detail in this chapter. Hence Mokkala himself sends Nīlakēśī to the very founder of Buddhism. Hence the fifth chapter *Buddha-vāda-carukkam* represents the meeting of Nīlakēśī and the Buddha for the purpose of discussion. The Buddha himself is made to realise that his doctrine of *ahiṃsā* is not observed in spirit by his followers. He is made to realise that mere lip-service to *ahiṃsā*

is not a satisfactory doctrine of religion, where finally he himself is made to acknowledge the unsatisfactory nature of his religion which must be recast to keep the spirit of *ahiṃsā*. Thus, next to the introductory chapter, 4 chapters are devoted to this discussion of Buddhism. Then the other *darśanas* are introduced in succession.

The 6th chapter is devoted to the Ājīvaka religion. The chapter is called *Ājīvaka-vāda-carukkam*. The founder of the Ājīvaka religion was a contemporary of Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha. In outward appearance the Ājīvakas resembled Jaina *Nirgranthas*. But, in the matter of religion, they differed very much from both the Jainas and the Buddhists. Though the contemporary Buddhistic writers made no mistake about the identity of the Ājīvakas, later Indian writers very often made the mistake of confounding them with the Digambara sect of Jainas. In this chapter on the Ājīvakas the author of *Nīlakēśī* distinctly warns the reader against any such confusion and emphasises the fundamental doctrinal differences between the two sects.

The 7th chapter is devoted to an examination of the *Sāṅkhya* schools. Hence it is called *Sāṅkhya-vāda-carukkam*.

The 8th chapter is devoted to the examination of *Vaiśēṣika-darśana*. The author carefully brings out the points of resemblance between the Jaina and non-Jaina *darśanas* in philosophical matters, always keep-

ing before his mind's eye his own fundamental concept of *ahiṃsā*.

The 9th chapter is devoted to the examination of Vēdic ritualism, hence called *Vēda-vāda-carukkam*. In this section there is not only a criticism of Vēdic ritualism involving animal sacrifice but also a critical examination of the *varṇāśrama-dharma* based upon Vēdic ritualism. The author tries to argue that the social differences, based upon birth, have no significance in the spiritual field, and hence are altogether without any importance to religion. From the point of view of religion the only difference to be noted among the human beings is the difference based upon character, culture and spiritual discipline.

The last or the 10th chapter is devoted to the examination of the materialistic school usually called *Bhūta-vāda*. Hence the chapter is called *Bhūta-vāda-carukkam*. Here the discussion is mainly devoted to establishing the reality of a spiritual principle beyond the materialistic conglomeration of the world. The author tries to emphasise that consciousness or *cētanā* is an independent spiritual principle and not a mere secondary by-product of the combination of material things, an independent spiritual principle which is recognised as an entity surviving the disintegration of the material element with which it is associated in the life of the individual. Thus the main theme of this chapter is the survival of the human personality after death. This Nīlakēśi demonstrates to the leader of materialism who readily accepts his mistake and acknowledges

that there are more things not dreamt of in his philosophy.

Thus ends the work after vindicating first the reality of the spiritual principle, the human personality and secondly the supremacy of the religious doctrine based upon *ahiṃsā*. Thus Nīlakēśī completes her life-task which she intended to be a thanks-offering to her *guru* from whom she learnt the fundamental principles of religion and philosophy which she adopted as her own, though she, as a Goddess, had been revelling in animal sacrifice. Thus we see that *Nīlakēśī* is mainly a controversial work intended to vindicate the reality of the soul against materialism, the nobility of *ahiṃsā* against Vēdic ritualism, and the dietetic purity of vegetarianism against the Buddhists who preached *ahiṃsā* and practised *hiṃsā*.

We know absolutely nothing about the author of the text though we know that the commentary is written by Vāmana-muni. Since there are references to the *Kuṟal* and the *Nālaḍiyār* in this work it must be later than the age of the *Kuṟaḷ*. Since it is intended as an answer to *Kuṇḍalakēśi* it must certainly be later than *Kuṇḍalakēśī*[1].

Since we know nothing about *Kuṇḍalakēśī* itself we cannot build much on this information. All that

1. The learned author elsewhere (Neelakesi, Kumbakonam, 1936, pp. 5-11) assigns the anonymous author to a period between the fourth and fifth century A D , but says "We cannot afford to dogmatically assert anything about the age of the author of Neelakesi "

we can say is that it is one of the very early classics in Tamiḻ literature. It contains 894 stanzas on the whole. This text is certainly very useful to students of Tamiḻ literature in exhibiting several rare grammatical and idiomatic usages, and archaic terms in which the work abounds.

Two other minor *kāvyas* which are still lying in obscurity in palm-leaf manuscripts are (4) *Udayana-kāvya* and (5) *Nāgakumāra-kāvya*. The former, as its name suggests, relates to the life of Udayana, the Vatsa prince of Kauśāmbī Since they are not published, we cannot say much about them.

There is another Tamiḻ classic dealing with the storyof Udayana Probably this is not one of the minor *kavyas* Judging by the volume of matter and the meter employed in this work, it is probably an independent work not included in any of the traditional lists. It is made available to the Tamiḻ reader by that indefatigable worker in the cause of Tamiḻ, Dr Swaminatha Ayyar, whom we have already referred to[1] This work *Peruṅkathai* probably was named after the *Bṛhat-katha* of Guṇāḍhya written in what is known as Piśācabhāṣā, a Prākrit dialect. The author is known as Koṅguvēḷ, a prince of the Koṅgu-dēśa. He lived in Vijayamānagar, a place in Coimbatore District, where there were a number of Jainas in former days. This work is quoted by several famous commentators

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1 *Perunkathai*, Ed by V Swaminatha Ayyar, Madras, 1924

in Tamil to illustrate the grammatical and idiomatical usage in Tamil literature. The book now published is unfortunately incomplete. The editor with all his attempt was not able to obtain the missing portion in the beginning as well as at the end of the work. Instead of waiting indefinitely, it is good that the work is published though incomplete. From Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, which contains a lot of other stories, the author of Tamil *Peruṅkathai* has taken only the portions relating to the life of Prince Udayana. The story consists of 6 main chapters. *Uñjaik-kāṇḍam, Lāvāṇak-kāṇḍam, Magadak-kāṇḍam, Vattavak-kāṇḍam Naravaṇak-kāṇḍam* and *Turavuk-kāṇḍam,* all relating to the rich life of Udayana. Udayana was the son of Śatānīka of the Kuru dynasty who ruled over Kauśāmbī Śatānīka's queen was one Mṛgāvatī. When she was in an advanced state of pregnancy she, with her attendants, was playing in the upstairs of her palace. She had herself and her attendants and the whole background adorned with plenty of red flowers and red silk clothes After play she fell asleep on her cot. The most powerful bird of Hindu mythology, *Śarabha,* mistaking the place to be strewn with raw flesh on account of the red flowers strewn across, carried away the cot with Mṛgāvatī sleeping on it to Vipulācala. When Mṛgāvatī woke up she was surprised to find herself in strange surroundings. The bird which carried her there, realising that what she carried was not a mass of flesh but a live human being, went away leaving her there. Just at that moment she gave birth to a son, the future Udayana.

To her welcome surprise there was her father Cēṭaka, who, after renouncing his kingdom, was spending his time there as a Jaina *yōgin*. When he heard the cries of the baby he went there and found his daughter Mṛigāvatī. Since the child was born about sunrise he was named Udayana. On the same hill Vipulācala there was living one *brāhmaṇa Ṛṣi*, Brahmasundara by name, with his wife Brahmasundarī. Cēṭaka-muni, the father of Mṛigāvatī, placed his daughter and her child in the care of the *brāhmaṇa muni* where they were looked after as members of his own family. This *brāhmaṇa Ṛṣi* had a son by name Yūgi , and Yūgi and Udayana became very intimate friends from their childhood which friendship lasted through their life. After some time Cēṭaka-muni's son, who was ruling over his kingdom after his father's abdication, himself wanted to renounce it and wanted to become a *tapasa*. He went to his father to appraise him of his intention, met there the beautiful youth Udayana whose identity was revealed by the grandfather. When Udayana was known to be his sister's son he was gladly taken back to the city to rule over his grandfather's kingdom. He took with him his playmate and friend Yūgi who was always of great help to him throughout his career. While he was living with his foster-father Brahma-sundara-muni he was taught by that *brahmaṇa Ṛṣi* a valuable *mantra* with the help of which even the most violently mad elephant could be made as quiet and harmless as a sheep. He also had as a gift, from the same *brāhmaṇa Ṛṣi*, a divine musical instrument whose notes would subdue and tame even the wildest of

elephants. With the help of this *mantra* and the musical instrument, while living in the forest *āśrama*, he once subdued a famous elephant which afterwards was known to him to be a divine one and capable of immense service to him for several years. When Udayana went to Vaiśāli, his grandfather's place, he took with him not only Yūgi, his playmate and friend, but also this elephant who was willing to serve the prince Udayana. While Udayana was thus ruling at Vaiśāli his father Śatānika, who was in great sorrow because of the loss of Mṛgāvati, after searching for her in various lands went to Vipulācala where he discovered his queen under the protection of her father. With the permission of her father she was taken back to Kauśāmbī by Śatānīka. After some time Udayana inherited his father's kingdom also and thus he became the lord of both Kauśāmbī and Vaiśāli.

Then begin the real adventures of Udayana. By carelessness he loses the divine elephant. He roams about in the forest with his *viṇā* in hand in search of his elephant. Just then the emperor of Ujjain, Pracchōdana by name, sends messengers to collect tribute from the kings of Vatsa and Kauśāmbī. His minister Śālaṅkāyana advises him to desist from such an adventure and asks him to wait for a better opportunity. When Udayana is roaming about in the forest, which is the best time to capture Udayana as a prisoner, Pracchōdana sends a machine in the form of an elephant within which are hidden soldiers with weapons. This mechanical elephant, like the

Trojan horse, is taken to the forest in which Udayana is searching for his lost elephant. Imagining that it is some wild elephant Udayana approaches this machine-elephant and suddenly soldiers jump out of its body and capture Udayana as a prisoner. He is taken as a captive to Ujjain. While he is kept as a prisoner for some time, his friend and minister Yūgi, learning that the prince Udayana is kept as a prisoner by the king of Ujjain, makes up his mind to somehow release him from imprisonment and to punish the king of Ujjain for his impertinence. So he goes there in disguise with other friends and lives in the outskirts of Ujjain, waiting for an opportune moment. While in disguise he informs Udayana secretly of his presence in Ujjain and promises him that very soon he would be released. To create an opportunity he, with the help of his friends, used the *mantra* to make the royal elephant mad and uncontrollable. The elephant breaks loose the chains and rushes into the streets of the city causing tremendous damage on its way No one is able to control it. Then the king Pracchōdana learns from his minister Śālaṅkāyana that the only person who can control such a wild elephant is Udayana who is kept in prison. The king sends for him immediately, and promises him freedom if he will only control the wild mad elephant Udayana, with his musical instrument, makes the mad elephant as tame as a cow and thus pleases the king very much. Udayana obtains his freedom and is kept by the king of Ujjain as a musical instructor to his daughter Vāsavadattā. With the help of his minister Yūgi,

Udayana, who wins the heart of Vāsavadattā, manages to run away from the capital carrying Vāsavaḍattā with him on the back of the elephant Nalagiri. Thus ends the first chapter called *Uñjaik-kāṇḍam* narrating the adventures of Udayana in the city of Ujjain.

The next chapter is called *Lāvāṇak-kāṇḍam* because it pertains to the incidents in Udayana's life in the city of Lāvāṇa, one of the cities in his own kingdom. Here he marries Vāsavadattā and makes her his queen. In his attachment to his beautiful wife, he forgets and completely neglects his duties as a king This is not liked by his friends who realise there is much to do yet; because, during the absence of Udayana as a prisoner in Ujjain, his kingdom had been captured by the ruler of Pāñcāla who was not friendly disposed towards the kingdom of Kauśāmbī Hence Yūgi arranges to separate Vāsavadattā from her husband Udayana. By a clever trick he makes Udayana believe that his whole palace is burnt to ashes and the queen Vāsavadattā is also burnt to death. Before setting fire to the palace Vāsavadattā with her attendant is taken away through an underground passage to a safe place where they are kept in concealment These are some of the important items of Udayana's life narrated in the second chapter.

The third chapter *Magadhak-kāṇḍam* deals with Udayana's adventures in Magadha-dēśa. Udayana was very much dejected because of the loss of the queen Vāsavadattā and goes to Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha, for the purpose of winning back the

supposed dead wife Vāsavadattā through the help of a great *yōgin* who is reputed to be able to revive dead persons with the help of *mantra.* There he happens to meet the Magdha king's daughter, Princess Padmāvatī. At the first sight they fall in love with each other. Udayana, who is living in disguise as a *brāhmaṇa* youth, manages to win the princess Padmāvatī completely and thus has a *gāndharva-vivāha* with her without the knowledge of the king. While so living in disguise, Rājagṛha was surrounded by enemies. Udayana manages to defend the city against the enemies with the help of his friends and thus manages to win the confidence and gratitude of the Magadha emperor. Finally Padmāvatī, the king's daughter, is given in marriage to Udayana, and he was living happily in Rājagṛha with this queen Padmāvatī.

Then begins the fourth chapter called *Vattavak-kaṇḍam.* This refers to Udayana's reconquest of his own Vatsa kingdom with the help of his father-in-law, the king of Magadha. There he is welcomed by his old people who had the bitter taste of the tyranny of the Pāñcāla king Thus securing the confidence of his subjects he settles down in his own kingdom Vatsa-dēśa, living happily with his queen Padmāvatī. One day he dreams of meeting Vāsavadattā and this dream revived his attraction to his former queen Vāsavadattā. In the meanwhile, his friend Yūgi, who always comes to his rescue in difficulties, appears before the gates of Rājagṛha with Udayana's former queen Vāsavadattā Udayana was delighted to meet

his wife whom he supposed to be dead and takes her to his palace with the consent of Padmāvatī and is living happily in Rājagṛha with his two wives.

While he was spending his life happily with his two queens, Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī, he happens to meet Mānanīkā, the beautiful young playmate of the queens. He falls in love with this stranger and arranges with her secretly to meet at an appointed place in the night. Vāsavadattā comes to know of this, and imprisons Mānanīkā and, herself dressed in disguise as Mānanīkā, waits for the appearance of Udayana according to the appointment. Udayana is received coldly by Vāsavadattā in disguise when Udyana, imagining her to be Mānanīkā, his lady-love, begs her in various ways to accept him. Then Vāsavadattā discovers herself to the chagrin of Udayana who escapes back to the palace just about the time of dawn. Early in the morning Vāsavadattā sends for Mānanīkā in order to punish her for her impudence in aspiring for the king's hand. In this excitement a messenger from the king of Kōśala brings a letter to Vāsavadattā. In this letter the king of Kōśala narrates the story of his sister who was carried away as a captive by the Pāñcāla king, of how she was released with a number of attendants by Udayana when he reconquered the country by defeating the king of Pāñcāla and how she was got as an attendant to Vāsavadattā herself with the assumed name of Mānanīkā and finally requesting Vāsavadattā to treat this Kōśala princess with the kindness and consideration becoming her status. When Vāsavadattā reads this letter, she apologises

to Mānanikā for her conduct and restores her to the status and position befitting a princess. Finally Vāsavadattā herself arranges for her marriage with Udayana who is found to be in love with this Kōśala princess.

The fifth chapter deals with the birth of a son and heir to Udayana. After some time the queen Vāsavadattā gives brith to a son called Naravāṇadatta. Even before his birth astrologers predicted of his greatness and that he would become an emperor of the *Vidyādhara* kingdom though born in an ordinary *kṣatriya* family. In course of time this Naravāhana inherited from his father the Kauśāmbī and Vatsa kingdoms and from his grandfather the *Vidyādhara* kingdom of Ujjain. In due course his father Udayana renounces the world and becomes an ascetic devoting his time in meditation and *yōga*. This Udayana's renunciation forms the subject-matter of the 6th and the last chapter of this Tamiḻ classic *Peruṅkathai*.

Mērumandira-purāṇam — This *Mērumandira-purāṇam* is an important Tamiḻ classic though it is not included in the category of *kāvyas* It resembles in excellence of literary diction the best of *kāvya* literature in Tamiḻ It is based upon a Purāṇic story relating to Mēru and Mandira. The story is narrated in *Mahāpurāna* as having taken place during the time of Vimala-Tīrthaṅkara. The author of this *Mērumandira-purāṇam* is one Vāmana-muni who is the same as the Vāmana-muni, the commentator of *Nīlakēśi*. This Vāmana-muni lived about the time of Bukkarāya of

the 14th century. In this also the story is used as a frame-work for expounding important philosophical doctrines relating to Jainism.

The story is connected with the city of Vītaśōka, the capital of Gandhamālinī in Vidēha-kṣētra. The name of the king who ruled over this country was Vaijayanta, and that of his queen, Sarvaśrī. He had by this queen two sons Sañjayanta and Jayanta. The elder Sañjayanta, heir to the throne, was married to a princess by whom a son was born to him called Vaijayanta after the grand-father. The old king, who now had his namesake grandson, thought it better to abdicate the kingdom in favour of his son, himself desiring to enter *tāpasa-āśrama* as a *yōgin*. But his two sons did not care much about the royal splendour and hence expressed their desire to renounce the kingdom and follow their father. Thus the grandson Vaijayanta was made the king and the three, father and two sons, adopted asceticism and went to spend their life in *yōga*. While the three were engaged in penance, the father Vaijayanta, because of his success in *yōga*, soon managed to get rid of his *karmas* and became a *sarvajña*. As is usual at such times all the *dēvas* assembled there to offer worship at the feet of this *Jīvan-mukta*. Among those assembled there was a beautiful *dēva*, Dharaṇēndra by name, who appeared with all his divine paraphernalia. The younger brother Jayanta, who was also engaged in penance, noticed this beautiful *dēva* and desired to become one like him in his next birth. As a result of this desire and also as the fruit of his incomplete *yōga*, he soon

became a Dharaṇēndra himself. But the elder brother Sañjayanta continued his *tapas* without any wavering even after his father's attainment of *mukti*. While he was thus engaged in *tapas*, a *Vidyādhara*, who was going in his own *vimāna* in the sky, noticed this *yōgin* beneath. He also noticed that his *vimāna* would not cross beyond the region where this *yōgin* was standing. This roused his anger. He picked up this *yōgin*, Sañjayanta-bhaṭṭāraka, and carried him to his own land. Dropping him in the outskrits of his country he told his people that Sañjayanta was their enemy and instigated all his countrymen, the *Vidyādharas*, to treat this *yōgin* in all possible forms of cruelty. These *Vidyādharas* in ignorance ill-treated this *mahāmuni* as bid by the wicked *Vidyādhara*, Vidyuddanta. In spite of these cruelties the *yōgin* did not lose his meditation. Nor did he get angry at the enemies who did all this in ignorance. As a result of this supreme spiritual isolation and peace in the midst of sufferings caused by his enemies he attained *samādhi* On account of this spiritual victory he was, in his turn, surrounded by *dēvas* for offering him adoration and worship. In the midst of these *dēvas* was found his own brother, the new Dharaṇēndra. This young *dēva*, Dharaṇēndra, noticed that his elder brother was cruelly treated by the *Vidyādharas* who were still there staring in dismay at the wonderful sight of the *dēvas* gathered there to offer service and worship to their former victim Sañjayanta-bhaṭṭāraka, and he was in a rage. He wanted to bundle up all these *Vidyādharas* and cast them in a body into the ocean as a punishment for their mischief. But all the *Vidyādharas* openly confessed

their mistake and appealed to him for mercy, for it was all due to the mischievous instigation of their leader Vidyuddanta and not of their own free will. Hence Dharaṇēndra forgave them all. He would not, however, let go this wicked Vidyuddanta without proper punishment. Hence he wanted to bind this one wicked fellow at least for the purpose of ducking him to the sea. Just then one of the *dēvas* assembled there, Ādityāpadēva, advised this young Dharaṇēndra not to do any such thing. Dharaṇēndra in reply said 'How could I brook the suffering inflicted on my brother by this wicked fellow, and how could I accept your advice even in the presence of inexcusable evil?' To which Ādityāpadēva replied: 'In this spiritual realm evil is not to be requited with evil. You attach so much importance to your relationship to your brother. But if you would only known the inter-relationship that you had in your previous births you would clearly realise the silliness in emphasising one particular relation in a long chain of multifarious relations that one has in series of births. Further, hatred and love are important factors in determining the future births; the former gives a bad turn and the latter a good turn to one's future. Hence I would advise you not to worry yourself about this wicked *Vidyādhara*, Vidyuddanta. Even the *yōgin* Sañjayanta who had to suffer so much pain at the hands of this wicked person had forgiven him because all this was done in ignorance. Hence why should you bind yourself with *karma* created of hatred by attempting to punish this wicked *Vidyādhara*?' Hearing this advice from his friend Ādityāpadēva, Dharaṇēndra requested him to give

more details about his previous births. Ādityāpadēva narrated the following story for the edification of Dharaṇēndra.

There was a king named Siṃhasēna ruling over Siṃhapura. He had a queen named Rāmadattādēvī. His minister was one Śrībhūti who was also called Satyaghōṣa because of his honesty and truth-speaking. Just about that time there was a merchant, by the name Bhadramitra, belonging to another land. He went out to Ratnapura with his ship-load of goods, returned with an enormous quantity of wealth in the form of jewels and precious stones. This Bhadramitra visited Siṃhapura on his way. Seeing the prosperity and the beauty of the town, hearing the good nature of the king and his minister, he made up his mind to settle down in that city Siṃhapura. Hence he wanted to go to his native place to bring all his people to this city. In the meanwhile, he thought of leaving all his wealth obtained by the sea-borne trade in the safe custody of some one in the city. He could not think of anybody except the minister Satyaghōṣa. He went and told him of his resolution to settle down in this beautiful city of Siṃhapura and requested him to keep in his safe custody the several jewels and precious stones which he had with him. The minister Satyaghōṣa consented to this. A box containing the jewels was deposited with the minister and the merchant-prince went to his native place for the purpose of returning with his relations and friends. In the meanwhile, even the honest minister Śrībhūti, at the sight of valuable precious stones deposited with him

by the merchant, became covetous. He wanted to misappropriate the whole thing for himself. When the merchant returned to Siṃhapura, he bought for himself a palatial building for his residence. Leaving his people there, he went to the minister to get back his jewels. But Bhadramitra found the minister Satyaghōṣa completely changed. Instead of gladly returning the casket containing the jewels, Satyaghōṣa treated the merchant as an utter stranger as if he had not heard anything of him before and denied all knowledge of the casket of jewels. This completely upset the poor merchant, and he went about the streets crying of this injustice and begging for help. Nobody in the town would believe anything against the minister, Satyaghōṣa, because he was famous for his integrity and honesty. Naturally people thought that this foreign merchant was a mad fellow falsely accusing the minister of misappropriation. But this merchant Bhadramitra even in his ravings was quite consistent, which consistency could not be associated with any mad man. Hence the queen was attracted by this merchant's cries. She made inquiries and found to her surprise that the minister was really a culprit. But there was no evidence for the deposit of the casket with him; and nobody would come forward as a witness in favour of the merchant. But the queen Rāmadattādēvī, being sure about the casket, requested the king to intervene on behalf of the merchant. The king would not listen to this. As an alternative the queen wanted permission to deal with the case herself. This was readily granted. Then the queen

Rāmadattādēvī invited the minister Satyaghōṣa for a game of chess. In the first game she won the minister's *yajñōpavīta* and the signet ring as stakes. Having won these two important things, insignia of the minister, she secretly sent these two things through her attendant to the treasurer. She instructed the attendant to show these two things to the treasurer and to get from him the casket of jewels belonging to the merchant deposited in the royal treasury in secret by the minister. When the attendant brought the casket it was an eye-opener to the king. Then he realised the crime committed by the minister. The minister himself now knew that he was discovered by the queen. Still the king wanted to test the honesty of the merchant. Therefore, he had this casket placed in the midst of several others belonging to the royal treasury and asked the merchant Bhadramitra to take all these. He would not touch the others except his own. Even within the casket there were other precious stones put together with those belonging to the merchant. The merchant took up his own things and rejected the others as not belonging to him. This behaviour of the merchant impressed the king and others assembled there. They all praised the honesty of this merchant and condemned the minister for his avarice. The king dismissed the minister from service and banished him from the city after disgracing him. The minister went out nourishing hatred towards the king and the queen. As a result of this hatred, he was born as a serpent in the royal treasury room; and when the king entered the treasury, he was bitten by this snake and killed. As a result of

this animosity these two were born as enemies in several successive births. This wicked *Vidyādhara* whom you want to punish at present was that Satyaghōṣa, the minister, who was disgraced on account of his dishonesty. The king Siṃhasēna, after a series of births and deaths, appeared as Sañjayanta who just attained *mukti*. We are all assembled here to offer *pūjā* to this Sañjayanta who was in his former birth Siṃhasēna-mahārāja. The queen Rāmadattā-dēvī is myself, I, born at present as Ādityā-padēva, and you are the younger brother of this Sañjayanta for you, because of your longing for *dēva*-glory, became Dharaṇēndra. Hence it would be advisable on your part to give up this hatred and pursue the path of righteousness. Dharaṇēndra accepted this advice given by his brother *dēva*, got rid of this hatred, and began to meditate upon *dharma*. The wicked *Vidyādhara* Vidyuddanta, who was listening to this story, was also ashamed of his past and resolved to lead a better life thereafter. Then the two *dēvas*, Ādityāpadēva and Dharaṇēndra, who were formerly the queen Rāmadattādēvī and her son respectively, after a period of dēvahood, were born as sons to the king Anantavīrya who ruled Uttara-Madurā. This king had two queens, Mērumālinī and Amṛtamatī. Ādityāpa was born as a son to Mērumālinī and was named Mēru. Dharaṇēndra was born to the second queen Amṛta-matī and was named Mandara. Just about that time Vimala-Tīrthaṅkara appeared in an *udyāna* adjoining Uttara-Madurā with the object of teaching the *dharma*. These two princes, Mēru and Mandara,

went on their royal elephant to offer *pūjā* to this Tīrthaṅkara and to listen to his preachings. Listening to this *dharma-upadēśa* these two princes became his disciples and were accepted as *gaṇadharas*, chief disciples, of the Lord. They, in their turn, spent their life in propounding *dharma* and finally, by the performance of *yōga*, attained *mukti*. The classic is named after these two princes, Mēru and Mandara, and hence called *Mērumandira-purāṇam*. It consists of 30 chapters of 1405 stanzas on the whole. Some ten years ago the present writer published this work with introduction and notes, and it is available to the reading public.

Śrīpurāṇa :—This *Śrīpurāṇa* is a very popular work among the Tamiḻ Jainas. I do not think there is anybody who has not heard the name *Śrīpurāṇa*. It is written in an enchanting prose style in *maṇi-pravaḷa*, mixed Tamiḻ and Sanskrit. It is based on Jinasēna's *Mahapurāna* and is also further called *Triṣaṣṭiśalakapuruṣa-purāṇa* dealing with 63 heroes. It is by an unknown author. Most probably it is a corresponding work to the Kannaḍa *Triṣaṣṭiśalākapuruṣa-purāṇa* by Cāmuṇḍarāya Hence it must be later than the *Jinasēna-Mahāpurāṇa* and Cāmuṇḍarāya's Kannaḍa *Purāṇa*. The 63 heroes whose history is narrated in this work are the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras, the 12 Cakravartins, 9 Vāsudēvas, 9 Baladēvas and 9 Prativāsudēvas. In the case of the *Cuḷāmaṇi* story we already noted Tiviṭṭa, the Vāsudēva, Vijaya, the Baladēva and Aśvagrīva, the Prativāsudēva. Similarly Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Rāvaṇa of *Rāmāyaṇa* fame are included

in these nine groups as Kēśava, Baladēva and Prati-vāsudēva. Similarly Śrī Kṛṣṇa of *Bhārata* fame is one of the nine Vāsudēvas, his brother Balarāma is one of the Baladēvas and Jarāsandha of Magadha one of the nine Prativāsudēvas. While narrating the life of each Tīrthaṅkara, stories of the royal dynasties are also given. Thus this work *Śrīpurāṇa*, since it contains the story of these 63 heroes, is considered to be the Purāṇic treasure-house from which isolated stories are taken by independent authors. Unfortunately it is not yet published. It still lies buried in palmleaves manuscript, and it is hoped that some day in the near future it will be made available to the students of Tamil literature.

Next we have to notice some works on prosody and grammar contributed by Jaina authors.

Yāpparuṅgalakkārikai [1] :—This work on Tamil prosody is by one Amṛtasāgara. Though it is not definitely known at what period he lived, it may be safely asserted that the work is old by 1000 years. Since the invocatory verse is addressed to Arhatparamēṣṭhi, it is obvious that the work is by a Jaina author. The author himself suggests that the work is based on a Sanskrit work on the same topic. Probably

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1. The following are the editions of *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai* :

(1) *Pañcalakṣaṇa Mūlam*, Ed. by Ramaswamigal, Madras, 1886, includes the texts of *Nannūl*, *Agapporuḷ-viḷakkam*, *Puṟapporuḷ—veṇbā*, *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai*, *Daṇḍiyalankāram*, *Nēmināthам*, *Vīraśōḷiyam*, etc.

(2) *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai* with Kumaraswami Pulavar's commentary. Ed by Ambalavana Pillai, 1908, 1925 and 1938.

it is a translation of that Sanskrit work. There is a commentary on this work by one Guṇasāgara who was probably a contemporary of this Amṛtasāgara. Probably they both belonged to the same Jaina *Saṅgha*. That it is an important work on prosody, that it is considered as an authority on metres and poetic composition, and that it is used as such by later writers are evident from the references to it found in Tamiḻ literature.

Yāpparuṅgala Virutti[1] :—This is also a work on Tamiḻ prosody written by the same author, Amṛtasāgara. There is an excellent edition of this *Yāpparuṅgala-virutti* by the late S. Bhavanandam Pillai.

Nēmināthaṃ[2] : A work on Tamiḻ grammar by Guṇavīra-paṇḍita. It is called *Nēminātham* because it was composed at Mylapore, the seat of the Jaina temple of Nēminātha. The author Guṇavīra-paṇḍita was a disciple of Vaccananda-muni of Kalandai. The object of this work is to give a short

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1. "*Yāpparungalam* is a rare and comparatively old Tamiḻ treatise on Tamiḻ prosody. Besides treating completely of the ancient and pure Tamiḻ metres, it analyses the whole extent of the new *Kalithurai* and *Viruttam* metres, classifies and groups them all scientifically. The text contains only ninety-six aphorisms ranging from one to twentynine lines in length. ......There is clear evidence to prove that the composition of the text of *Yāpparungalam* must have taken place either at the beginning or in the middle of the tenth century A.D " [*Yāpparungalam*, Text and commentary, Ed by S. Bhavanandam Pillai, Madras, 1916, Editorial Preface, pp. vii—viii]

2. See p 127, footnote 1, item (1) above.

and concise account of Tamiḻ grammar, because the earlier Tamiḻ works were huge and elaborate. From the introductory verses it is clear that this was composed before the destruction of the Jaina temple at Mylapore by a tidal wave. Hence it must be placed in the early centuries of the Christian era. It consists of 2 main chapters *Eḻuttadikāram* and *Śolladikāram*. It is composed in the well-known *veṇbā* metre. It is printed together with a well-known old commentary in the Tamiḻ journal *Śentamiḻ* issued by the authorities of the *Tamiḻ Śaṅgam* at Madurai.

The next work on Tamiḻ grammar we have to notice is *Naṉṉūl*[1], 'the good book.' It is the most

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1 The following are the editions of *Naṉṉūl*—

1) *Naṉṉūl*, Text and commentary, Ed. by Arumugaswamigal, 1873;
2) *Naṉṉūl*, Text and commentary, Ed. by K. Rajagopala Pillai, 1880,
3) *Naṉṉul*, Text and commentary, Ed. by Arumuga Navalar, Madras, 1880 and 1886;
4) *Naṉṉūl*, *Eḻuttadikāram*, Text and commentary, 1886;
5) *Naṉṉul*, Text and commentary, Ed. by Ponnuswamy Mudaliar, 1886;
6) *Naṉṉūl*, Text and commentary, Ed. by Srinivasa Mudaliar, Madras, 1888;
7) *Naṉṉūl*, Text, Ed. by Namachchivaya Chettiyar, Madras, 1889,
8) *Naṉṉūl*, Text and commentary, 1889,
9) *Naṉṉūl*, *Eḻuttadikāram*, Text and commentary, Madras, 1889,
10) *Naṉṉūl*, *Colladikāram*,Text and commentary, Madras, 1890,
11) *Naṉṉūl*, Text and commentary, Ed by Sathagopa Ramanujachariyar, Madras, 1892; III edn. Ed. by Sathagopa Ramanujachariyar and Krishnamachariyar, Madras, 1900;

popular grammar in Tamiḻ language. It is held only next to the *Tolkāppiyam* in esteem. It is by one Bavanandimuni who wrote this grammar at the request of a chief called Śīya-Gaṅga. The author was well versed not only in the Tamiḻ grammatical works, *Tolkāppiyam*, *Agattiyam* and *Avinayam*, but also in the Sanskrit grammar, *Jainēndra*, being a great scholar both in Tamiḻ and Sanskrit. This grammar, *Naṉṉūl*, he wrote for the benefit of the later Tamiḻ scholars. It is prescribed as a text book for schools and colleges ; hence we may say without exaggeration that no Tamiḻ student passes out of school or college without some knowledge of this Tamiḻ grammar. There are a number of commentaries on this work. The most important of these commentaries is the one by the Jaina grammarian Mailaināthar. Mailaināthar is another name for Nēmināthaṉ who was the God at the Mylapore *Jinālaya*. We have an excellent edition of this *Naṉṉūl* with this Mailainātha's commentary made available to the public by Dr V. Swaminatha Ayyar The work consists of two parts, *Eḻuttadhikāram* and *Śolladhikaram* which are sub-divided into five minor chapters.

In this section on grammar we may also notice the work called *Agapporuḷviḷakkam*,[1] by one Nāṟkavirāja Nambi His proper name is Nambi or Nambi Nainār ; because he was expert in 4 different kinds of poetic composition he was given the title of *Nāṟ-kavirāya*. He was a native of Puḷiyaṅguḍi on the banks

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1 See p 127, (footnote 1, item 1) above.

of the river Porunai in Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam. This work *Agapporuḷviḷakkam* is based upon the chapter on *Poruḷ-ilakkaṇam* in *Tolkāppiyam*. It is an exposition of the psychological emotion of love and allied experiences.

The contribution by Jainas to the Tamiḻ lexicography is also worthy of note. There are three important works on Tamiḻ lexicography; the three *nighaṇṭus* are the *Divākara-nighaṇṭu*. *Piṅgaḷa-nighaṇṭu* and the *Cūḍāmaṇi-nighaṇṭu*. All the three are dictionaries in verse which traditional scholars got by heart in order to understand the more intimate classics in the language. The first is by Divākara-muni, the second by Piṅgaḷa-muni and the third by Maṇḍalapuruṣa. Tamil scholars are of opinion that all the three were Jainas. The first, *Divākara-nighaṇṭu*, is probably lost to the world; but the other two are available. Of these the last is the most popular. From the introductory verses written by the author of the third work, *Cūḍāmaṇi-nighaṇṭu*, it may be learnt that he was a native of the Jain village Perumandūr which is a few miles distant from Tindivanam, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name, in South Arcot District. The author further refers to Guṇabhadrācārya, a disciple of Jinasēnācārya. This Guṇabhadra is the author of *Uttara-purāṇa* which is the continuation volume to Jinasēna's *Mahāpurāṇa*. Hence it is clear that this Maṇḍalapuruṣa must be later than Guṇabhadra. He also refers to the other two *nighaṇṭus* which ought to be, therefore, earlier to *Cūḍāmaṇi-nighaṇṭu*. The work is written in *viruttam*

metre and contains 12 chapters[1]. The first section deals with the names of *Dēvas*, the second with the names of human beings, the third with lower animals, the fourth with the names of trees and plants, the fifth with place-names, the sixth dealing with the names of several objects; the seventh deals with the several artificial objects made by man out of natural objects such as metals and timber, the eighth chapter deals with names relating to attributes of things in general, the ninth deals with names relating to sounds articulate and inarticulate, the eleventh section deals with

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1. Of the three *nighanṭus* referred to above, the following are the editions, in part or in full, of the *Cūḍāmaṇi*, which, since it contains 12 chapters, is also known as the *Paṉṉiraṇḍu-nighanṭu*

1) *Cūḍāmaṇi-Paṉṉirandu-nighanṭu*, Text and commentary, Ed. by Kesava Mudaliar, 1870,
2) *Cūḍāmaṇi-Paṉṉiraṇḍu-nighaṇṭu*, Text and commentary, Ed by Arumugaswamigal, Tiruvorriyur, 1873,
3) *Paṉṉiraṇḍu-nighanṭu*, Text and commentary, Ed by Tandavaraya Mudaliar, 1877,
4) *Cuḍāmani-Paṉṉiraṇḍu-nighanṭu*, Text and commentary, Ed. by Shanmuga Mudaliar, 1877,
5) *Cuḍāmaṇi-Paṉṉiraṇḍu-nighaṇṭu*, Text and commentary, Ed by Saravana Panditar, 1880;
6) *Paṉṉiraṇḍu-nighaṇṭu*, Text and commentary, Ed by Maunagurusvami, Chittoor, 1883;
7) *Paṉṉiraṇḍu-nighaṇṭu*, Text and commentary, Ed by Ponnusvami Mudaliar and Dase Gavundar, 1886,
8) *Cūḍāmani-nighaṇṭu*, Text of the first ten chapters, Ed. by Vythilingam, Madras, 1875,
9) *Cūḍāmaṇi-nighanṭu*, Text and commentary of the first ten chapters, Ed by Arumuga Navalar, Madras, 1867, 1873 and 1880,

(Contd)

words which are rhyming with one another, and hence relating to a certian aspect of prosody; the twelfth section is a miscellaneous section dealing with the groups of related words. We have a useful edition of this *Cūḍāmaṇi-nighaṇṭu* with an old commentary by the late Arumukha Navalar of Jaffna. Similarly there

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10) *Cūḍāmaṇı-nighaṇṭu*, Fırst chapter, Ed. by Arunachala Iyer, Konnur, 1873;
11) *Cūḍāmaṇi-nıghaṇṭu*, First chapter, Ed. by Arumugasvamigal, 1873 and 1887;
12) *Cūḍāmaṇı-nighaṇṭu*, First chapter, Ed. by Subramanıasvamıgal, Madras, 1889,
13) *Cūḍāmanı-nıghanṭu*, Second and thırd chapters, Ed. by Ratna Chettiyar, Madras, 1889;
14) *Padiṉōrāvadu-nıghaṇṭu* (11th chapter), Text and commentary, Ed by Karunanandasvamigal, 1868;
15) *Padiṉōrāvadu-nighanṭu* (11th chapter), Text and commentary, Ed by Arumugasvamıgal, 1869, 1873;
16) *Padiṉōrāvadu-nıghaṇṭu* (11th chapter), Text and commentary, Ed. by Kesava Mudalıar, 1870;
17) *Padıṉōrāvadu-nıghaṇṭu* (11th chapter), Text and commentary, Ed by Arumuga Mudalıar, 1875;
18) *Podıṉōrāvadu-nıghaṇṭu* (11th chapter), Text and commentary, Ed by Tiruvengadam Pillai and Kumara svami Iyer, 1880,
19) *Padiṉōrāvadu-nighaṇṭu* (11th chapter), Text and commentary, Ed. by Subramaniasvamıgal, 1881;
20) *Padiṉōrāvadu-nighaṇṭu* (11th chapter), Text and commentary, Ed by Vırabhadra Iyer, 1882;
21) *Padiṉōrāvadu-nighaṇṭu* (11th chapter), Text and commentary, Ed. by Appavu Pıllai, 1882;
22) *Cūḍāmaṇi-nighaṇṭil Padiṉōrāvadu* (11th chapter), Text and commentary, Ed. by Manıkka Upadhyayar, Madras, 1883, 1889;

(Contd.)

is an edition of *Piṅgaḷa-nighaṇṭu* by a Tamiḷ pandit by name Sivan Pillai.

Having disposed of grammar and lexicography, let us turn our attention to one or two miscellaneous works : *Tirunūṟṟantādi* by Avirōdhi Āḷvār. The *antādi* is a peculiar form of composition where the last word in the previous stanza becomes the first and the leading word in the next stanza. *Antādi* literally means 'the end and the beginning.' This constitutes a string of verses connected with one another by a catch-word which is the last in the previous stanza and the first in the succeeding stanza. *Tirunūṟṟantādi* is such a composition containing 100 verses. It is a devotional work addressed to God Nēminātha of Mylapore. The author Avirōdhi Āḷvār was a convert to the Jaina faith. It is said that one day, while he was passing by the side of the *Jinālaya*, he heard the Jaina *ācārya* within the temple expounding to his disciples the nature of *mōkṣa* and *mōkṣa-mārga*. Attracted by this exposition he entered the temple and listened to the teacher's discourse. Desiring to learn more about this he requested the *ācārya* to permit him to attend the

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23) *Padiṉōrāvadu-nighaṇṭu* (11th chapter), Text and commentary, Ed by Arunachala Mudaliar, 1883;

24) *Cūḍāmani-nighanṭil Padiṉōrāvadu*, (11th chapter), Text and commentary, Ed. by Shanmuga Mudaliar, Madras, 1886,

25) *Padiṉōrāvadu-nighanṭu* (11th chapter), Text and commentary, 1887,

26) *Cūḍāmāṇi—nighaṇṭu* (11th chapter), Text and commentary and 12th chapter, Text, Ed by Ponnam bala Pillai, 1892,

lectures, which permission was readily granted. Finally he became a convert to the faith and in recognition of this change in his life, he composed this *Tirunūṟṟantādi* dedicated to the god Nēminātha of Mylapore. It is a very beautiful devotional work containing a few facts relating to the author himself. It is published with notes in the *Śentamiḻ* Journal conducted by the *Tamiḻ Śaṅgam*, Madurai.[1]

Tirukkalambagam[2] is another devotional work by a Jaina author by name Udīcidēva. He belonged to the country of Toṇḍa-maṇḍalam. He was a native of Aṟpagai, a place near Arani in Vellore Taluk. The term *kalambagam* implies a sort of poetic mixture where the verses are composed in diverse metres. This *Tirukkalambagam* by Udīci, besides being devotional, is also philosophical in which the author tries to discuss the doctrines of the rival faiths such as Buddhism. It probably belongs to a period later than that of Akaḷaṅka, the great Jaina philosopher, who was responsible for undermining the supremacy of Buddhism in the south, and who was probably a contemporary of Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, the Hindu reformer.

Jainas were also responsible for contribution to Mathematics, Astronomy and Astrology. Probably several works relating to these topics have been lost. We have at present one representative in each. *Eṇcuvaḍi*, a popular work on Arithmetic, and *Jinēndramālai*, an equally popular work on Astrology. Traders

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1. *Tirunūṟṟantādi*, Text, Kāñchīpuram, 1883.
2. *Tirukkalambagam* (*Aruṅgalacceppu*), Kāñchīpuram, 1883.

who are accustomed to keep accounts in the traditional form get their early training by studying this mathematical work called *Eṇcuvaḍi* and Tamiḻ astrologers similarly get their grounding in *Jinēndramālai* which forms the mainstay for their predictions popularly known as *ārūḍha*.

This completes our cursory survey of Tamiḻ literature with special reference to Jaina contributions thereto. The prevalence of Jainism in ancient Tamiḻ land and its usefulness to the Tamiḻ people are not merely vouchsafed for by Tamiḻ literature but are also evidenced by the customs and manners prevalent among the upper classes of the Tamiḻ society. Even after the Śaivaite revival, when several Jainas were made, under penalty, to embrace Hinduism for political reasons, these converts to Hinduism, who went back to their own respective castes in the Hindu fold, zealously preserved their customs and manners acquired while they were Jainas. Though they changed their religion, still they did not change their *ācāras*. It is curious that the Tamiḻ term *śaivam*, which primarily means the follower of the Śaiva faith, means in popular parlance a strict vegetarian. A strict vegetarian among the Hindu *vēḷāḷas* is said to observe *śaivam* in the matter of food. Similarly the *brāhmaṇas* in the Tamiḻ land are *śaivam*, *i.e.*, strict vegetarians. In this respect the Tamiḻ *brāhmaṇa* is distinguished as the *Drāviḍa-brāhmaṇa* from the Brahmins in other parts of India who are brought under the category of *Gauḍa-brāhmaṇas*. The *Drāviḍa-brāhmaṇas*, wherever they be, are strict

vegetarians, whereas the *Gauḍa-brāhmaṇas* all eat fish and some eat meat also. Bengal *brāhmaṇas* who belong to the Pañca-gauḍa group eat fish and meat. It is normal with Bengal *brāhmaṇas* to offer goat or buffalo as sacrifice to the goddess Kālī and carry home meat as Kālī's *prasāda*. Such a thing is unthinkable in any of the Hindu temples in the south, whether dedicated to Viṣṇu or Śiva. Hence it may not be altogether an exaggeration to state that in the matter of purity of temple worship the Jaina doctrine of *ahiṃsā* has been accepted and preserved by the upper class of Hindus in the Tamiḻ land even up to the present day. Of course there are scattered places where animal sacrifice is offered to the Village Gods. But it must be said to the credit of the upper classes among the Tamiḻ Hindus that they have nothing to do with this grosser form of Kālī worship. With the growth of education and culture, it may be hoped that even these lower orders in Tamiḻ society will give up this gross and ignorant form of religious worship and elevate themselves to a higher religious status actuated by purer aud nobler ideals.

APPENDIX

JAINA EPIGRAPHS IN TAMIḺ

In this appendix are brought together, for the first time, the texts of eightyfive Jaina inscriptions in Tamiḻ, published over the decades in the pages of many different volumes, most of them now out of print, and hence not readily available to the world of scholars and students. Though the present collection is by no means exhaustive, its utility lies in the fact that it enables readers to understand, though only on broad lines, the course of the history of Jainism in the Tamiḻ country. Some of the published Jaina Tamiḻ epigraphs have been left out of the present collection owing to their damaged or uncertain nature. Since quite a few Jaina epigraphs are merely cursorily noticed, without their texts being given, they too have been excluded. Nevertheless, any conclusion pertaining to the prevalence and chronological and regional history of Jainism in Tamiḻnāḍu, drawn on the basis of this appendix, is not likely to be seriously affected or modified by any such exhaustive collection which may be rendered possible by future publications

It will be clear from the sequel that nearly two—thirds of the eightyfive inscriptions included here hail from the Tirunelveli and Madurai districts. The provenance and dates of these inscriptions lead to the following conclusions, *viz*,

> that Jainism was at its zenith in the Tamiḻ country during the 8th and 9th centuries A. D., particularly in the Madurai–Tirunelveli region;
>
> that the Madurai-Tiruchirappalli region had received this noble faith at least as early as in the 2nd century B. C.; that this region continued to patronise Jainism till at least the 9th century A. D.;
>
> that Jaina followers were very active in the Tirune-leveil and North Arcot regions during the 8th—11th centuries;

and that the incidence of Jaina epigraphs in Tamiḻ in the other districts of Tamiḻnāḍu is rather sporadic.

The topographical distribution of the inscriptions included in the present appendix is given below.

District	*Serial No. of the inscriptions*
Madurai	1-3, 20, 24-40
Tiruchirappalli	4, 13, 22, 82-83
Tanjavur	5
South Arcot	6, 14, 45
North Arcot	7-9, 21, 42-44, 76-81, 85
Ramanathapuram	10-11, 23
Tirunelveli	12, 15-19, 41, 46-75
Chingleput	84

Explanatory notes have been added at the end wherever found necessary and the source of publication mentioned in all cases.

TAMIḺ BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

MĀṄGUḶAM, MADURAI TALUK, MADURAI DISTRICT

No 1

On a boulder on the Kaḻugumalai hill near Māṅguḷam (Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi).

Dynasty :............ King :............

Date : 2nd-1st cent. B.C. Language and Alphabet : Tamiḻ, Brāhmī

Purport : Records that the monastery (*paḷi*) was given in dedication to the monk (*Āsiriyika*) Kaṇi Nanta by Kaṭalaṉ Vaḻutti, a servant of Neṭuñcaḻiyaṉ.

TEXT

Kaṇıy Nanta āsırıyık= uvaṇke dhammam
itta-a Neṭuñcaḷiyaṇ paṇa-aṇ kaṭalaṇ
Vaḷuttıy koṭṭupitta-a paḷi-iy

No. 2.

On another boulder on the same hill.
Dynasty .... King: ....
Date 2nd-1st cent. B. C. Language and Alphabet: Tamiḷ, Brāhmi

Purport : Records that the monastery (*paḷi*) was given in dedication to the monk Kaṇı Nanta by Caṭikaṇ, the father of Iḷañcaṭıkaṇ and brother-ın-law (*sālakaṇ*) of Neṭiñcaḷıyaṇ

TEXT

Kaṇıy Nant= āsırıyak= uaṇ dhamam
ıta Neṭıñcaḷıyaṇ sālakaṇ
Iḷañcaṭıkaṇ tandaıy Caṭıkaṇ ce-ıya paḷıy

No. 3

On a thırd boulder on the same hıll
Dynasty .... Kıng :..........
Date . 2nd-1st cent. B. C. Language and Alphabet: Tamıḷ, Brāhmi

Purport . Records the gıft of the lattıce (*piṇaū*) to the monk Kaṇı Na[n]ta by Kāḷıtıka, son of Antai and merchant prince of the mercantıle guıld (*nigamu*) of Veḷaraı.

TEXT

Kaṇi i Na[n]t= āsiriyak= uva .

Veḷarai-y nikamatu kāvitiy
Kāḷitika Antai-a sutaṉ
piṉa-ū koṭupitōṉ

No. 4.

PUGAḺŪR, KARUR TALUK, TIRUCHCHIRAPPALLI DISTRICT.

On the brow of the first cavern on the Āṟunāṭṭār hill near Vēlāyudampāḷaiyam.

Dynasty .... King · Ātaṉ Cellirumpoṟai
Date : 3rd-4th cent A D Language and Alphabet Tamiḻ, Brāhmī

Purport : Records that Iḷaṅkaṭuṅkō, the son of Peruṅkaṭuṅkōṉ, the son of the king Ātaṉ Cellirumpoṟai, caused the stone abode (*uṟai*) of the Jaina monk (*amaṇṇaṉ*) Ceṅkāyapaṉ ofyāṟrūr to be cut on becoming heir-apparent.

TEXT

..tā amaṇṇaṉ Yāṟṟūr Ceṅkāyapaṉ uṟaiy
kō Ātaṉ Cellirumpoṟai makaṉ
Peruṅkaṭuṅkōṉ makaṉ Iḷaṅ-
kaṭuṅkō [i*]ḷaṅkō āka aṟutta kal

Notes : The word *paḷi* which is used in the sense of a monastery in Nos 1 and 2 above came to be written in later Tamiḻ inscriptions as *paḷḷi*.

The reference to the *nigama* in No. 3 above shows that, as in later times, Jainism enjoyed the support of the merchant community of Tamiḻnāḍu even in the early period.

[Published in *Seminar on Inscriptions* (Madras), 1966, pp. 60-73].

No. 5

PAḶḶAṆKŌVIL, TIRUTTURAIPPUNDI TALUK, TANJAVUR DISTRICT

Copper-plate set recovered at the time of ploughing a field in the village.

Dynasty : Pallava	King : Siṃhavarma
Date : Regnal year 6	Language and Alphabet :
(6th Century A.D.)	Sanskrit in Grantha,
	Tamiḻ in Tamiḻ

Purport : Records the royal grant of the village Amaṇśērkkai (Śramaṇ-āśrama in the Sanskrit portion), situated in Perunagara-nāḍu, a sub-division within Veṇkuṇṟa-kkōṭṭam, as *paḷḷiccandam* to Vajranandi-kuravar (Vajranandi-gaṇi in the Sanskrit portion) of Paruttikkuṇṟu (Vardhamāna-dharmatīrtha in the Sanskrit portion) Also records the grant of some land in Tāmar as *paḷḷiccandam* to the same donee. The said grants were made for the worship of Jinēndra and the Jainēndras.

TEXT

[Lines 1 to 26, 24 of them engraved on three sides of the first two plates, and the remaining two engraved on the first side of the third plate, are in Grantha characters and Sanskrit language.]

Third Plate : First side

27. kō Viśaiya-Siṁhavarmmaṟku yāṇḍ-āṟāvadu Veṇ-
28. kuṇṟa-kkōṭṭattu-Pperunagara-nāṭṭu nāṭṭar
29. kāṇga [1*] Tan-nāṭṭu Amaṇśērkkai Parutti-
30. kkuṇṟil Vajranandi-kkuravarkku-ppaḷḷiccandam-ā-
31. ga-kkuḍuttōn-tāṅgaḷum paḍāgai naḍandu kal-
32. luṅ-kaḷḷiyun-nāṭṭi aṟaiy-ōlai śeydu ko-

Third Plate : Second side

33. ḍuttu viḍudagav-eṉṟu nāṭṭārkku-ttirumugam viḍa nāṭṭā-
34. run-tirumugam kaṇḍu toḻudu talaikku vaittu paḍā-
35. gai naḍandu kalluṅ-kaḷḷiyu-nāṭṭi nāṭṭār viḍunda
36. aṟaiy-ōlai-ppaḍikk-ellai-kīḻpā-
37. l-ellai Endal-ēriyiṉ kīḻai-kkaḍaṟṟi-
38. ṉ mēṟkum-omai-kkollai elai iṉṉu-
39. m teṉpāl-ellai Veḷvaḍugaṉ kēṇiyi-
40. ṉ vaḍakkum kaḍaṟṟiṉ-ellai iṉṉun-Nīlapāḍi

Fourth Plate First side

41. ellai iṉṉum Vilāḍaṉ kuṟṟ-ēttatt-ellai
42. iṉṉum mēlpāl-ellai māv-ēttattu
43. vadiyiṉ kiḻakkum mum-mūlai ēttatt-ellai
44. iṉṉu-māṟṟ-ellai iṉṉum vaḍapāl-el-
45. lai peruṅ-kollaiyiṉ-ṟeṟku iṉṉum
46. Pāṇḍiyaṉ-kayatt-ellai iṉṉum murukkan-
47. kēṇi ellai [| *] Ivv-iśaitta peru-nāṉg-el-
48. laiy-agattum-agappaṭṭa nilam nīr-nilamum

Fourth Plate : Second side

49. puṉśaiyyum kaḷarum kaṉṟu-mēy-pāḻum kāḍu-
50. m piḍiligaiyum kiḍaṅguṅ-kēṇiyum maṉai-
51. yum maṉaippaḍappum uḍumboḍi āmai tava-
52. ḻndad-ellām-uṇṇilaṉ-oḻiv-iṉṟi
53. kōvum poṟiyum māṟṟi kuḍi-nīkki ivv-ūr
54. peṟṟa Vajranandi-kkuravarkkē paḷḷiccandam-āga Tā-
55. marilum padiṉāṟarai-ppaṭṭi nilaṅ-koḍut-
56. tōm [| *] In-nilattiṟk-ellai kīḻpāl-e-

Fifth Plate : First side

57. llai Puli-kiḷārpaṭṭiyiṉ mēṟkum teṉpā-
51. l-ellai Muḷḷeri-pā[kka*]tt-ellaiyin vaḍa-
59. kkum mēlpāl-ellai pokkuvāy-cceṟu-
60. viṉ kiḷakkum vaḍapāl ellai pallāṅgu-
61. ḷikkāviṉ teṟkum m-nāṉg-ellai-
62. y-agattum agappaṭṭa bhūmiyum Paruttikkuṉṟi-
63. l Vajranandi-kkuravarkkē paḷḷiccandam-āga parada-
64 tti śeṉradu [| *] Narabhayaṉ-āṇattiyāl

Notes The reference to Paruttikkuṉṟu as Vardhamāna-dharma-tīrtha in the Sanskrit portion is interesting. There are in Tamiḷnāḍu a number of places named differently as Paruttiyūr, Paruttikkuḍi, Paruttippaṭṭu, etc It has been suggested elsewhere (*Pallavar Cheppēḍugaḷ Muppadu*, pp. 25-26) that the ancient place-name Paruttikkuṉṟu should be taken as alluding to some hitherto unknown incident in the life of Vardhamāna-Tīrthaṅkara since his name is given to that village in the Sanskrit portion Paruttikkuṉṟu is the same as modern Tirupparuttikkuṉṟam, a village in the vicinity of Kāñchīpuram and known in the past as Jina-Kāñchī. It was formerly one of the four *ācārya-pīṭhas* of the Digambara-Jainas. There stands in that village even today a temple dedicated to Vardhamāna-Tīrthaṅkara. But scholars are of the opinion that this temple is later in date than the one dedicated to Chandra-prabha-Tīrthaṅkara and located in the same village. Nevertheless, the present inscription attests to the fact that there existed in that place a temple of Vardhamāna from early times.

The village granted is named Amaṇśērkkai and Śramaṇ-āśrama in the Tamil and Sanskrit portions respectively. (cf Inscription No. 82 below, note 2 for a similar instance).

The donee Vajranandi-kuravar is stated, in the Sanskrit portion, to belong to the Nandi-saṅgha

This inscription contains one of the earliest references to the term *paḷḷiccandam* signifying a grant of land given in particular to a Jaina temple or institution or preceptor.

[Published in *Pallavar Cheppeḍugaḷ Muppadu*, pp 1-32]

No. 6

Śiṅgavaram, Gingee Taluk, South Arcot District
On a rock in the Tirunātharkuṉṟu near the village

Dynasty . .... King . . . . .

Date 6th century A D Language and Alphabet Tamiḷ

Purport · Commemorates the death of Candiranandi-āśirigar after observing fast for 57 days

TEXT

1 Aimbattēḷ-aṉa-

2 śaṉan-nōṟṟa

3 Candiranandi-ā-

4 śirigar niśidigai [| | *]

Notes . The Sanskrit word *acaryaka* has taken the *tadbhava* form of *aśiriga* in this inscription Cf Nos 1-3 above where the *tadbhava* occurs as *āsiriyika* and *asiriyaka*

[Published in *SII*, Vol XVII, No. 262]

Nos 7-8

Kiḷśāttamangalam, Wandiwash Taluk, North Arcot District
Natural rock surface called Perun āḷ-pārai near the Jaina temple of Chandranāthasvāmi.

No. 7.

Dynasty: Pallava — King: Nandivarman II
Date. 14th regnal year (747 A D.) — Language and Alphabet: Tamiḻ

Purport · Records the gift of seven gold coins (*kaḻañju*) by Āndai Iḷaiyār Pavaṇandi for feeding the Jaina ascetics who were not in the regular establishment of the temple (*paḷḷi*) The villagers undertook to protect the provisions of the grant

TEXT

1 Śrī-Nandippōttare-
2 śarkku-ppadināṉg-āvadu i-
3 p-paḷḷi-uḍaiārai nīkki irun-
4 da tavasigaḷukku-ppiccai eḻu-
5 kaḻañju poṉ ivv-ūr-Āndai I-
6 ḷaiyār Pavaṇandi vaitta aṟam
7 kaḻañjināl uḻakk-ariśi muṉkūṭṭi
8 vaittadu ivv-aṟam-ūrōmuṅ-kāp-
9 pōm-āga oṭṭināl Kāmakkō-
10. ṭṭam-aḻitta pāvam-āga oṭṭir-nā-
11. ḷ vāy-uḻakkariśium muṭṭiṟ . .
12. . . . .

No. 8.

Dynasty: Pallava — King: Nandivarman II
Date · 56th regnal year (789 A D.) — Language and Alphabet: Tamiḻ

Purport: Records the gift of seventeen *kaḻañju* of coins for providing one *uḻakku* of rice per *kaḻañju* to the same *paḷḷi* by Puṇḍi-Muppāvai, the daughter of Jinaḍiyār of Viḻukkam. This

grant along with that of Pavaṇandi (recorded in No 7 above) was to be protected by the villagers.

TEXT

1. Śrī-Nandippōttaraiśarkku
2. yāṇḍu aimbattāṟāvadu
3. Viḷukkattu Śiṇaḍiyār magaḷār
4. Pūṇḍi Muppāvai [vai*]tta kāśu padineḷu
5. kaḷañju mēl ip-paḷḷikku
6. kaḷañjināl-uḷakk-ariśi vai . .
7. . aṭṭuvār-ivv-aṟam Pavaṇa-
8. ndiyār vaitta paṇam ūrōm kā-
9. ppōm-anōm [| | *]

Notes : The gifts made are referred to in the two inscriptions as *aṟam* which is the Tamiḷ rendering of Sanskrit *dharma* and Prakrit *dhamma*. Cf. *dēya dhamma* occurring in Prakrit donative records It is stated in lines 9-10 of No 7 above that those who flout the grant recorded therein would incur the sin of having destroyed the *Kāma-kkōṭṭam* While in Tamiḷ inscriptions of 11th-13th centuries, the word *kāma-kkōṭṭam* signifies Śaivite *ammaṉ* shrines, in the above inscription it obviously refers to a Jaina temple since, in early Tamiḷnāḍu, the word *kōṭṭam* was exclusively applied to Jaina temples. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the recently discovered Guḍnāpur inscription (*Śrīkaṇṭhikā*, Mysore, 1973, pp 61-72) of Kadamba Ravivarman (6th cent A D) mentions a Kāma-Jinālaya built by that ruler.

[Published in *Seminar on Inscriptions* (Madras, 1966), pp. 158-59]

No. 9

Pañchapāṇḍavamalai, Wandiwash Taluk, North Arcot District.

On the front face of the rock which overhangs a natural cave containing a pool of water.

Dynasty : Pallava — King : Nandipōttaraśar (Nandivarman)

Date : Regnal year 50 (c. 767 A.D.) — Language and Alphabet : Tamiḻ

Purport : Records that Nāraṇaṉ, the son of Maruttuvar of Pugaḻālaimaṅgalam, caused to be engraved an image of Poṉṉiyakkiyār attended by the preceptor (*guravar*) Nāganandi.

TEXT

1. Nandippōttaraśarkku aymbadāvadu Nāganandi-guravar
2. irukka Poṉṉiyakkiyār paḍimam koṭṭuvittāṉ
3. Pugaḻālaimaṅgalattu Maruttuvar magaṉ Nāraṇa-
4. ṉ [| | *]

Notes . "Poṉṉiyakkiyār is the honorific plural of Poṉṉiyakki (Sanskrit : Svarṇa-yakṣi), which consists of the Tamiḻ word *poṉ*, 'gold' and *iyakki*, the Tamiḻ form of Sanskrit *yakṣi* There is hardly any doubt that, of the group of five figures which are engraved in the cave below the inscription, the sitting female figure represents Poṉṉiyakki".

P B Desai (*Jainism in South India*, p. 40) identifies Poṉṉiyakki with Siddhāyikā, the characteristic attendant deity of Mahāvīra.

[Published in *Ep. Ind*, Vol. IV, pp. 136-37]

No. 10.

Paḷḷimaḍam, Aruppukkottai Taluk, Ramanathapuram District.
On the wing-stone at the entrance to the Kālanāthasvāmin temple.

Dynasty: Pāṇḍya King: Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ

Date: Regnal year 26 (782 A.D.)

Language and Alphabet: Tamiḻ, Vaṭṭeḻuttu

Purport: This fragmentary inscription appears to record a gift of 100 sheep by Śāttaṅ-Guṇattāṉ of Kuṉṉūr in Karunilakkuḍi-nāḍu for supplying ghee to a deity in the temple of Tirukkāṭṭām-baḷḷi at Kuṟaṇḍi.

TEXT

1. Śrīmat-kō-Māṟañjaḍaiya . . .
2. irubattāṟu iv-vāṇḍu Veṇ . . . .
3. k-Kuṟaṇḍi-Ttirukkāṭṭāmbaḷ[ḷi] . .
4. tiṅgaṭ-padiṉāḻi neykku . . .
5. nilakkuḍi-nāṭṭu-Kkuṉṉūr-Ccā[tta]-
6. ṅ-Guṇattāṉ aṭṭiṉa āḍu nūṟu [| | *]

Notes: "From other records it is known that at Kuṟaṇḍi there flourished in the olden days an important Jaina temple named Tirukkāṭṭāmbaḷḷi. This stone may have belonged originally to that temple and removed thence and placed in this temple. Kuṟaṇḍi may be identified with the village of the same name in the Aruppukkottai Taluk"

"Kuṟaṇḍi has been alternately identified with a place in Agastisvaram Taluk of the old Travancore State (*Trav Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 2)"

[Published in *SII*, Vol. XIV, No 32]

No. 11

Paḷḷimaḍam, Aruppukkottai Taluk, Ramanathapuram District
Wing-stone at the entrance to the Kālanāthasvāmin temple

Dynasty: Pāṇḍya King. Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ

Date: Regnal year 35 (791 A.D)

Language and Alphabet: Tamiḻ, Vaṭṭeḻuttu

Purport: Records a gift of 50 sheep to Tirukkāṭṭāmbaḷḷi at Kuṟaṇḍi in Veṇbu-nāḍu in order to supply to the temple 5 *nāḷi* of ghee everyday.

TEXT

1. Śrīmat-kō-Māṟañjaḍaiyaṟku yāṇ-
2. ḍu muppattaiñju idaṉ-edi[r*]
3. [āṟu] ivv-aṇḍu Veṇbu-ṇā-
4. ṭṭu-Kkuṟaṇḍi Tirukkāṭṭāmba-
5. ḷḷikku aḷḷattu iḍu Oladū-
6. r-kīḻ Pāmbārūr tiṅgaḷ añ-
7. ñāḻi ney aṭṭa aḍutta āḍu ai-
8. mbadu [| | *]

Notes Like the stone bearing inscription No. 10 above, this wing-stone also must have been brought from the Tirukkāṭṭāmbaḷḷi Jaina temple at Kuṟaṇḍi and inserted in the Kālanāthasvāmin temple at some later date.

[Published in *ibid*, No. 39]

No. 12.

Ēṟuvāḍi, Nanguneri Taluk, Tirunelveli District.
On a boulder in the Iraṭṭaipottai rock.

Dynasty Pāṇḍya King . Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ

Date . Regnal year 43 (799 A D) Language and Alphabet: Tamiḻ

Purport This weather-worn inscription seems to reeord a gift of land by Irambāṭṭu-vēḷāṉ Śāttaṉ as *paḷḷiccandam* to the god (*bhaṭāra*) of Tiruviruttalai-Aruvāḷam in Nāṭṭāṟṟuppōkku and a gift of sheep for a lamp. A Tamiḻ verse at the end, composed by the donor himself, contains an exhortation to all to offer worship to the Aruhaṉ on the hill

TEXT

1. Śrī-kō-Māṛañjaḍaiyaṛku yāṇḍu 43 ivv-āṇḍu Nāṭṭāṛṛu-ppōkku-Tti-
2. ruvıruttalaı-Aruvāḷattu Paṭārakarkku-ppaḷḷiccandam-āga Nāṭṭukku-
3. ṛumbıṉ Kīḻccērı Pāppācāṉṛārēy ıvv-ūrōṅgaḷ bhūmi śıṛṛeyıṛ-kā-
4. lıṛ-pırında arumaṇḍaıkkālāl nīr-aṭṭu nel vıḷaivaṉa ıḷamakkaḷ śe-
5. ydad-ın-nılam 22 v-ıḷamperuṅkālāl nīr-aṭṭu nel vıḷaı-vaṉa kāṇam
6. taḍı 2 Kāyalūr-kkıḷāṉ taḍı 2 nılaṉ 4 ıkkālāl nīr-aṭṭu nel vıḷaıvaṉa muda-
7. ccey mēl-adu taḍı . nılaṉ 5 vagaıyıl vayalıl adam peṛṛa . ma . ye-
8. ṉ-eṉṟa kālāl nır-aṭṭu nel vıḷaıvadu kıḻpulaccey taḍı . nılaṉ
9. ēṟṟı-ttaḍı oṉpadu nilaṉ ¼ kāluṅ-Karaıkkāṉa-nāṭṭu Irambāṭṭu-
10. vēḷāṉ Śāttaṉ pakkal ın-nılattāl yıṛaı-vılaı-pporuḷ koṇḍu ın-
11. nılattāl ıṟaı-kkaḍaṉum vaḻı ıṟaı veṭṭı evvagaı-ppaṭṭadum Nāṭ-
12. ṭukkurumbıṟ-Kīḻccērı- Ppāppācāṉṟōmē kātt-ūṭṭvadā-gavum [| *] ı-
13. ppūmı ıpparıśēy vılaıkkuṟa vıṛṟu-pporuḷaṟa-kkoṇḍu vı
14. laıyāvaṉa- pporuṭ - celav-ōlaıy - āga-cceydu - kuḍuttōm Pāppācāṉṛārō-
15. m Vēḷāṉ Śāttaṉukku [| *] ıpparıśu ıppūmi kāttū-ṭṭuva. . . . ın-nıla-[kaḍa]maı-
16. yıl acc-añju paḷaṅkāśu vevvēṛṛu-vagaı ıraṭṭı poruḷu-maṛak .

17. ṉattu-ttaṇḍamum paṭṭu-ppiṉṉaiyum ippāmi ivva . . muṭṭāmal aṭṭu-
18. ā-Kīḻccēri-Ppāppācāṉṟārōn-Tiruviruttalai-Aruvāḷattu ivv-āṇḍu ittē-
19. varkkēy ivaṉē vaitta tiruviḷakku oṉṟiṉukku niyadi . . . . muṭṭāmal aṭṭu-
20. vidāga-Pperumbaḷañji irukkiṉṟa paḍai-ttalaivaṉ Kōṟaikkāḍaṉukku . . . 5 ū . . . .
21. . ṅkōṉ Māṟaṅ-kuḍitāṅgiyum puṇaiy-āga aḍutta śāvā-mūvā-ppērāḍu aimbadu śrī-Śīlacciga-
22. ri ॥ Antam-il Pal-guṇatt-ādi Aruhantaṉ-en-tam-iḍar-tīrkku . .
23. ṉōrāta muṉṉēy tiruttalai toḻumiṉ śeṉṟu-vand-aṉ-malar . . . naiyē toḻumiṉ .
24. tēvar śendiṉam-avi-poḻir-cōlai tigaḻvāṉ-andaḍa . . . yuḻi-vandu maṇiy-eṉṟō
25. maṉattu-ṉiṉaippilaṉ-eṉṟō malar-uṇḍa makarandam pa . . .
26 ṉey [| | *] ivaiyum Vēḷāṉ Śāttaṉ śolliṉa ॥ ivaiyum . ṇḍuiṉ-nāḍ-ā-
27. ḻu-nāṭṭu nāśakaṉmār ॥

Notes: Lines 12 and 17-18 above mention *pāppacāṉṟār* of Kīḻccēri in Nāṭṭukkuṟumbu as the protectors and executors of the grant recorded in the epigraph. The word *śāṉṟār* means "learned", "wise", etc. It thus appears that the learned *brāhmaṇas* (*pārppār*) of Kīḻccēri were entrusted with the task of managing this grant made to a Jaina deity.

In the verse occurring in lines 22-26, the donor-poet eulogises the Arhat as 'one without end' (*antam-il*), as the 'source of many qualities ' (*pal-guṇatt-ādi*) and as the 'healer of voes' (*iḍar-tīrkkum*).

[Published in *SII*, Vol. XIV, No. 41]

No. 13.

Teṉimalai, Tirumayyam Taluk, Tiruchirappalli District.
On a rock in front of the Āṇḍār-maṭha.

Dynasty :................. King :........................
Date : 8th century A.D. Language and Alphabet : Tamiḻ

Purport · States that while the Jaina ascetic Malayadhvaja was performing penance on Teṉūrmalai, a certain Irukkuvēḷ (i e , a local chieftain belonging to the Irukkuvēḷ family) visited the place and gave an endowment of land as *paḷḷiccandam* for the maintenance of the sage

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [| | *] Malaiyadhvajaṉ Tē-
2 ṉūr-malai-il tavañ-je-
3 yya-kkaṇḍu Irukku-
4. vēḷ vandittu avippu-
5 rañjeyda paḷḷiccanda-
6 n-nālēkāl [| | *] ivv-aṟaṅ-kā-
7 ttāṉ aḍi nittañjeṉ-
8 ṉi aḷa [| | *]

[Published in *Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkottai State*, No 9]

No 14

Kiḷśāttamaṅgalam, Wandiwash Taluk, South Arcot District
Natural rock surface called Perumāḷ-pāṟai near the Jaina temple of Candranāthasvāmi

Dynasty Pallava King Kampavarman
Date 6th regnal year (876 A.D.) Language and Alphabet . Tamiḻ

Purport: Records that Mādēvi, the wife of Kāṭakatiyaraiyar, renovated the Jaina temple (*tirukkōyil*) and monastery (*pāḷi*), built a *mukha-maṇḍapa*, constructed a temple for the Yakṣa-bhaṭāri and gifted a big bell to that temple.

TEXT

1. Svasti śrī [| | *]Kampapanmaṟku yāṇ-
2. ḍ-aṟāvadu Kāṭakatiyaraiyar ma-
3. ṇavāṭṭi Mādēvi it-tirukkō-
4. yil pudukki muka-maṇḍagam-e-
5. ḍuppittu pāḷi pudukki Yak-
6. ka-paṭṭāri-ttirukkoyill-eḍu-
7. ppittu ipp-paḷḷikk-iṭṭa
8. perumaṇi oṉṟu ūṭṭuvittāḷ [| | *]

Notes. This inscription bears ample testimony to the fact that Kīḷśāttamaṅgalam flourished as an important Jaina stronghold during the latter part of Pallava rule.

No 15

Kaḷugumalai, Kovilpatti Taluk, Tirunelveli District.
On the rock at Kaḷugumalai.

Dynasty :.................. King :..................

Date : 8th century A.D. Language and Alphabet : Tamiḷ, Vaṭṭeḷuttu

Purport : Records that the sacred image (*trumēṉi*) was caused to be made by the preceptor Nāgaṇandi, the pupil of the preceptor Śiṅgaṇandi of Āṇaṉūr.

TEXT

1. Śrī [| | *] Āṇaṉūr Śiṅgaṇaṉ-

2. di-kkuravaḍigaḷ mā-
3. ṇākkar Nāgaṇandi-kkurava-
4. ḍigaḷ śeyvitta tirumēṇi [| | *]

Notes : Vide No. 9 above, an inscription of the 8th century, which also alludes to the preceptor named Nāgaṇandi.

[Published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol.IV, p. 156, f.n. 6].

Nos.16–17.

Ēṛuvāḍi, Nanguneri Taluk, Tirunelveli District.
On a boulder in the Iraṭṭaipottai rock.

Dynasty :.. . ... King :..................

Date . 8th-9th century Language and Alphabet : Tamiḷ

No. 16.

Purport : States that the work (of having the image made) was that of Ajjaṇandi

1. Śrī-Accaṇan-
2 di śeyal [| | *]

[Published in *SII*, Vol XIV, No. 129]

No. 17

Purport : States that the image (below which the inscription is engraved) was to be protected by the assembly of Nāḍāṛuppōkku

1. Śrī-Nāḍā-
2. ṛuppōk[ku]
3. śabhaiyār-rakṣai [| | *]

For more information on Ajjaṇandi, figuring in No 16 above, see Notes under No. 40 below.

[Published in *SII.*, Vol. XIV, No. 130]

No. 18.

Kaḻugumalai, Kovilpatti Taluk, Tirunelveli District.
Between the second and third sections on the rock at Kaḻugumalai.

Dynasty · **Pāṇḍya** — **King: Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ**

Date: Regnal year 3 (A.D. 865) — **Language and Alphabet: Tamiḻ, Vaṭṭeḻuttu**

Purport: This inscription, worn out in parts, refers to the Jaina god Tirumalaidēvar of Tiruneccuṟam in Neccuṟa-nāḍu and records an arrangement made by Guṇasāgara-bhaṭāra for feeding ten ascetics (*vairāgyar*) including one *bhaṭāra* who expounded the sacred doctrine (*siddhāntam uraikkum bhaṭārar).*

TEXT

1 Śrī-kō-Māṟañjaḍaiyaṟku yāṇḍu [3 vadu] Neccu-
2 ṟa-nāṭṭu-Ttiruneccuṟattu Tirumalaittē-
3. varkku Guṇasāgara-bhaṭārar śeyvitta [Ku]-
4 ḻuvā[ṇaina]llūr Tumbūr-kkūṟṟattu Kaḍan-
5. daikuḍi Dharmmacittan-āṉa . yāmāṟar Tirumā-
6. l-aḍaiñjirundu siddhāntam uraikkum pa-
7 ṭārar-uḷḷiṭṭu-ppadiṉmar vayirāgyarkku [ā]-
8 hāra-dānam-āga-ttaṉ-mudal kuḍutt-aḍippit-
9. ta kiṇaṟu mēlai Vīranāraṇa ēṟi . . na
10. naḍuvil Dharmmacittaṉum Kīḻaittirumālu[ṟa]
11 vāṟaṇai niccilu śīḍa-ppaṭārarē niccilu-
12 m Uttamaśīlaṉum Varasundharie
13. niccilum Tirumāl ta . e. nicci-
14. lum . ṅgavīraṉum nāṭṭu-ccerue [nicci]-
15. lum [niccilum] śeyvi[k*]ka kaḍvar [| , | *]

Notes: Among those entrusted with the task of implementing the provisions of the 'grant is mentioned the *śīḍa-ppaṭārar*

(= Sanskrit. *śiṣya-bhaṭāra* an expression by which the disciple/disciples undergoing training as Jaina teacher/teachers is/are obviously meant.

No. 19.

Kaḷugumalai, Kovilpatti Taluk, Tirunelveli District.
Between the second and third sections of the rock at Kaḷugumalai

Dynasty Pāṇḍya — King. Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ

Date. Regnal year 3 (A D 865) — Language and Alphabet: Tamiḻ, Vaṭṭeḻuttu

Purport This inscription, worn-out in parts, refers to the Jaina god Tirumalaidēva of Tiruneccuṟam in Neccuṟa-nāḍu and records an arrangement made by Guṇasāgara-bhaṭāra for feeding five ascetics (*vairāgyar*) including one *bhaṭāra* who expounded the sacred doctrine (*siddhāntam uraikkum bhaṭārar*)

TEXT

1 Śrī-kō-Māṟañjaḍaiyaṟku yāṇḍu [3 vadu] Neccuṟa-nā-
2 ṭṭu Tiruneccuṟattu Tirumalaittēvarkku Gu-
3 ṇasāgara-bhaṭātar śeyvitta Kuḷuvāṇainallū-
4 r Miḻalaikūṟṟattu Perunā[va]lūr .dāsa-
5 n-āgiya Mādēvaṉakkaṉ ñjirundu siddhāntam
6 uraikkum bhaṭārar uḷḷiṭṭ-aivar vayirākki-
7 yarkku āhāra-dānam-āga taṉ-mudal kuḍuttu aḍi-
8 ppitta-kiṇaṟu . niccilum . . ni-
9 ccilum . niccilum palavarai .
10 tiṇaikkaḷattāl niccilun-Tirumalai Vīraṉum
11 ka . . śuṇakaṉ śevvaka ..
12. c-cēvittāṉ . . . . . koṇḍa

13. ivvūr . . . .
14. . . . .

[Published in *SII.*, Vol V, No. 406]

No. 20.

Ayyampāḷaiyam, Palani Taluk, Madurai District
Above the natural cave on the hill called Aivarmalai.

Dynasty · Pāṇḍya
Date : Śaka 792, Regnal year 8
(A D. 870)

King · Varaguṇa II
Language and Alphabet ·
Tamiḻ, Vaṭṭeḻuttu

Purport · Registers a gift of 505 *kāṇam* of gold by Śāntivīra-kkuravar of Kāḷam, the disciple of Guṇavīra-kkuravaḍigaḷ for offerings to the images of Pārśva-bhaṭāra (i e. Pārśvanātha) and of the attendant *yakṣīs* at Tiruvayirai, which he had renovated, and for the feeding of one ascetic (*adigaḷ*)

TEXT

1 Śakarai-yāṇḍu eḻunūṟṟu-ttoṇṇūṟṟ-iraṇḍu
2 pōndaṉa Varaguṇarku yāṇḍu eṭṭu Kuṇavīra-kku-
3 ravaḍigaḷ māṇākkar Kāḷattu Śāntivīra-k-
4 kuravar Tiruvayirai Pāriśva-paṭāraraiyum-Iyak-
5 ki-avvaigaḷaiyum pudukki iraṇḍukku-muṭ-
9 ṭāv-aviyum-ōr-aḍigaḷukku śōṟ-āga amaittaṉa
7 poṉ aiññūṟṟ-aindu kāṇam [| | *]

Notes : "The images sculptured on the brow of the cavern on this hill, as well as the reference in this record indicate that a Jaina colony flourished on this hill in the 9th century A.D."

[Published in *SII*, Vol XIV, No 22]

No. 21

Veḍāl, Wandiwash Taluk, North Arcot District
On a boulder in front of a natural cave at Veḍāl.

Dynasty Cōḷa | King . Āditya I
Date 885-86 A D | Language and Alphabet Tamiḻ, Tamiḻ and Grantha

Purport: Records that, a dispute having arisen between Kanakavīra-kurattiyār, a female disciple of Guṇakīrti-Bhaṭāra of Viḍāl *alias* Mādēvi-Ārāndimaṅgalam and her five hundred lady pupils on the one and a group four hundred nuns on the other, the inhabitants of the locality, who were the lay disciples of the school to which Kanakavīra-kurattiyār belonged, undertook to feed her and her lady pupils

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [| | *] kōv-Irāśakēśariparmarkku yāṇḍu padiṉālāvadu Śi-
2 ṅgapura-nāṭṭu-kkīḻvaḻi Viḍāl-Mādēvi-Ārāndi[maṅgala-
3 muḍaiya Guṇakīrtti-Bhaṭārar-vaḻi māṇākkiyār Kanakavīra-kkuratti-
4 yāraiyum-avar-vaḻi māṇākkiyaraiyum Tāpasigaḷ nānūṟṟuvarkkum
5 koḷḷādamaiyil ikkōyiṟ-piḷḷaigaḷ-aiññūṟṟuvarkkum vaḻi-ilāruṅ-
6. kātt-ūṭṭuvōm-āṉōm[| | *] Eṅgaḷuḍaiya sva-rakṣai idu irakṣippār-aḍinilai eṅgaḷ
7 talai-mēl-aṉa [| | *]' Mādēvi-Ārāndimaṅgalam-uḍaiya Kanakavīra-kkuṟattiyār-
8. ttaṅgaḷ-[ū]r-magaḷ-ādaṉamaiyil . . . . . .
9 mukkiyarum-idu kāppār [| | *] Avargaḷ sva-rakṣai idaṉai irakṣippār-a-

10. ḍinilai en talai-mēl-aṉa [| | *]
11. . . . danum-Kālanum mu-
12. dal-āgiya Mādēvi-Ā-
13. rāndimaṅgalam-uḍaiya
14. Kanakavīra-kkurattiyār taṅ-
15. gaḷ magaḷār-ādanamayil
16. iduv-ellān-taṅ-
17. gaḷ kāval [| | *] Idaṉai tiṅ-
18 gu niṉaittār Gaṅgaiy-iḍai-Kkumari iḍai
19 eḻunūṟṟu kādamuñ-ceyda pāva-
20 ṅ-koḷvār kāvalanukku piḷaittā-
21 r-āvār

Notes (1) In the name Kanakavīra-kurattiyār, *kurattiyār* is the honorific plural feminine form of Sanskrit *guru*.
(2) In the place-name Mādēvi-Ārāndi (or Ārandi)-maṅgalam, Ārāndi or Ārandi is, in all probability, a derivative of Sanskrit *Arhantikā*, 'a Buddhist or Jaina nun'.

[Published in *SII*, Vol III, No 92]

No. 22

Śittaṉṉavāśal, Kulattur Taluk, Tiruchirapalli District.
On the rock south of the rock-cut Jaina temple

Dynasty Pāṇḍya — King Śrīvallabha

Date 9th century A D — Language and Alphabet · Tamiḻ (verse), Tamiḻ

Purport This partly damaged inscription in Tamiḻ verse states that on behalf of the king Śrīvalluvaṉ, who had the title of *avaṉipaśēkhara*, a certain Iḷaṅ-Gautamaṉ, who is described as an *āśiriyaṉ* (= *ācārya*) of Madurai, repaired the *aga-maṇḍapa* of the Aṟivar temple at Aṉṉalvāyil and built the *mukha-maṇḍapa* in

front of it Some gifts of land were also made to the priests of the temple

TEXT

1. Svasti śrī [| | *] Tirundiya perum-pugaḷ-Ttaiva-darisanatt-aruntava-munivaṉai-pporuṭ-celav-araiyara
2. . . kkula-nilaimai-Iḷaṅ-Gautamaṉ-enum vaḷaṅkeḷu tirunagar Madirai-āśiriyaṉ avanēy pā-
3. r-muḷud-āṇḍa Pañcavar-kula-mudal-ārkeḷu vaivēl-avaṉipaśēkaraṉ śirkeḷu śeṅgōr-Cirival-
4. luvaṉukk-eṉṟ-i-Ppalavuṅ-kurikōḷ-inid-avai oṇ[ḍiṟal] nadivaṇiyatt-aṟaṇbi-mūdūr-k-
5. kaḍuvaḷaṁ perukki-ppaṇṇ-amar-kōil pāṅguṟa-cceyvitt-āraṇa-pperum mikk-oḷukkavi-
6. kkum-pūraṇa-mālai poliyav-ōṅgi anda I viḷakkiṟk-amaṇaṉ-kāṇiyuñ-cā-
7. tti-vayakkalun-guṇa-migu-śiṟappiṉ kurittu meḷukku-ppuram-oru mūṉru māvum paḷukkaṟa mu-
8. ṟaiyāl vaḷipaḍuvāṉukk-arai-kkāṇi mamai nokki Aṇṇalvāil-Aṟivai kōiṉ
9. muṉnāḷ maṇḍagaṅ-kallālēy nirii-kkaṇḍōr maiuḷuṇ-kāmaru viḷuccir-uḷ-
10. ḷoḍu puṟambal-oḷimiga-ppōkki maṟṟum-ellāṅ-kuṟra-nikki ādi-vēndar
11. aṟañ-cē vaḷakki māśaṟa nirii-ttiru-vaṟṟañjey pāvai ne-
12. ḍu-tūṇ-orupa . . . nagar-amaittu nīḍ-oḷi viḷakki-neyppuṟam-āg-eṉa
13. . ḍai vayalōḍ-eṭ . . kūṟiya vagaiyāṉ-āḍi naṉṟ-amaitta vaḷiy-aravō-
14. ṟku nila-mummācce aḷiyā vagaiyāṟ-kaṇḍaṉaṉ-e . kikkoḷ -

15. gai-Ppalguṇattōṉei | | | —Tiṉṉi nalaṉ paṟappi . . . . ṟṟeṉaga

16. . . . . maṇṇila . śir Madirai āśiriyan-Aṇṇal-agamaṇḍaga-

17. m pudukki āṅg-Aṟivar-kōil mugamaṇḍagam-ḳ ḍuttāṉ muṉ | | | —

Notes : The reference to the renovated temple twice (lines 8 and 17 as Aṟivar-kōyil. i.e., the temple of Aṟivar is interesting. Aṟivaṉ which means 'wise', 'knowing', etc., also stands for the Arhat (See Winslow's Tamil-English Dictionary, s v.).

In line 6 of the text above a plot of land is called *amanaṉ-kāni* where *amaṇaṉ* is the *tadbhava* of *śramana.*
The reference to Iḷaṅ-Gautamaṉ as Madirai-āśiriyaṉ shows that the Pāṇḍyan capital continued to be an important Jaina centre even in the middle of the 9th century A D

The findspot of the inscription is mentioned in line 8 as Aṇṇalvāyil In the place-name Śittaṇṇavāśal (Śittaṉ (Skt Siddha) +Aṇṇal + vāyil) both Śitta and Aṇṇal stand for the Arhat

[Published in *SII*, Vol XIV, No 45]

No. 23.

Paḷḷimaḍam, Aruppukkottai Taluk, Ramanathapuram District
On a stone in the northern wall of the *manḍapa* in the Kālanātha-svāmin temple

Dynasty · .. .. . King ....

Date . 9th century A D Language and Alphabet . Tamiḻ, Vaṭṭeḻuttu

Purport· Registers a gift of 5 sheep by Sāttaṉ Kāri for one perpetual lamp to be burnt in the temple of Tirukkāṭṭāmbaḷḷidēvar at Kuṟaṇḍi in Veṇbu-nāḍu.

TEXT

1. Svasti śrī [| | *] Veṇbu-nāṭṭu-Kkuṟaṇḍi Tirukkāṭṭā-
mbaḷḷi-ttēvarkku tiruno-
2 ndā-viḷakk-oṉṟinukku ivvūr-Ccāttaṅ-Kāri aṭṭiṉa āḍu ai-
3. mbadu ||—Idu ivvūr ūrāruṅ-gaṇattārum kāval [| | *]

Notes The text ends with the stipulation that the gift is to be protected by the residents and *gaṇattār* of Kuṟaṇḍi indicating thereby that the village was predominantly, Jaina by persuasion

This slab also appears to have originally belonged to the Jaina temple named Tirukkāṭṭāmbaḷḷi at Kuṟaṇḍi nearby, and to have been removed thence along with the wing-stones bearing inscriptions Nos 10 and 11 above

[Published in *SII*, Vol XIV, No 34]

Nos 24-28

Āṉaimalai, Madurai Taluk, Madurai District
Below the images of the Jaina gods sculptured in half-relief on the rock overhanging a natural cave.

Dynasty

King ..

Date 9th century A D

Language and Alphabet.
Tamiḻ, Vaṭṭeḻuttu

No 24

Purport · States that the image beneath which the inscription is engraved) is to be protected by the officials of the administrative departments (*tiṇaikkaḷattār*)

1 Śri-Tiṇai-
2. kkaḷattār
3 rakṣai [| | *]

[Published in *SII*, Vol XIV, No 100]

No. 25.

Purport : States that the image (beneath which the inscription is engraved) is to be protected by the official accountant(s) or arbitrators of Poṟkōḍu.

TEXT

1. Śrī-Poṟkō-
2 ṭṭu-kkaraṇa-
3. ttār rakṣai [| | *]

[Published in *SII.*, Vol. XIV, No. 101]

No. 26.

Purport. States that the sacred image (beneath which the inscription is engraved), caused to be made by Ajjaṇandi, was to be protected by the 'assembly' (*sabhā*) of Narasiṅgamaṅgalam The revenue accountants (*puravuvariyār*) are also mentioned

TEXT

1 Śrī-Narasiṅgamaṅgalattu
2 sabhaiyār rakṣai [| *] Accaṇan-
3 di śeyvitta tirumēṉiyum parivāra-
4. puravu-variyār pē[ramu]m [| | *]

[Published in *SII*, Vol. XIV, No. 102]

No 27.

Purport : States that the image of the *Yakṣa* (*iyakkar*) was caused to be made by Ceḍuḷiya-Pāṇḍi of Peruvembāṟṟūr in Teṉkaḷavaḷi-nāḍu.

TEXT

1. Śrī Teṉkaḷavaḷi-nāṭṭu-
2. Pperuvembāṟṟūr-Cceḍu-
3. ḷiya-Pāṇḍi śeyvi-
4. cca iyakka[r pa*]dumam [| | *]

[Published in *SII*, Vol XIV, No. 103]

No 28

Purport. States that the sacred image (beneath which the inscription is engraved) was caused to be made by Eviyampūdi of Vēṭṭañjēri in Veṇbaikkuḍi in Veṇbaikkuḍi-nāḍu and that it was to be protected by the department of revenue accountants.

TEXT

1. Śrī-Veṇbaikku-
2. ḍi-nāṭṭu Veṇ-
3. baikkuḍi Vēṭ-
4. ṭañjēri pudumai
5. Eviyampūdi
6. śeyvitta ti-
7. rumēṉi[| *]ivai
8. puravuvari-
9. kkaṇattā-
10. r rakṣai [| | *]

[Published in *SII*, Vol XIV, No 106]

Notes The fact that government departments and officials were entrusted with the protection of these images is further evidence for the fact that Jainism enjoyed great popularity in the Pāṇḍya kingdom even as late as towards the close of the 9th century A.D

No. 29–32.

Uttamapāḷaiyam, Periyakulam Taluk, Madurai District.
Below the images of Jaina deities sculptured in low relief on the face of the rock called the Karuppaṇṇasvāmiṉ rock.

Dynasty :...... ... King :. ....
Date : 9th century A.D. Language and alphabet · Tamiḻ, Vaṭṭeḻuttu

No. 29

Below the second image

Purport : This damaged inscription contains reference to Kuṟaṇḍi-tīrtha, the ancient Jaina stronghold, and to Candraprabha

TEXT

1. Śrī-Veṇbuṇāṭṭu
2. Villi Kuṟaṇḍi-ttī-
3 ....ruma ka mava
4. . candrapravaṉ
5. . . kku

[Published in *SII.*, Vol. XIV, No 121]

No 30.

Below the third image.

Purport : Registers that the sacred image was made by Ariṣṭa-nēmi-periyār, the disciple of Aṣṭōpavāsi-Kaṉakavīra.

TEXT

1. Śrī-Aṭṭōpavāsi Ka[ṉakavī]-
2. ra-māṇākkar Ariṭṭa-

3. ṉēmi-pperiyār śey-
4. da [tirumēṉi] [| | *]

[Published in *SII*, Vol. XIV, No. 122]

No. 31

Below the tenth image

Purport. Records that the work (of having the image made) was that of Ajjaṇandi.

TEXT

1 Śrī-Accaṇan-
2 dī śeyal [| | *]

[Published in *SII*, Vol XIV, No. 126]

No 32

On a boulder near the Kiruppaṇṇasvāmiṉ rock

Purport Registers a grant of 11 *kaśu* by Anantavīra-aḍigaḷ for a lamp to the god Tiruguṇagiridēva and states that the *aḍigaḷ* in charge of the temple (*paḷḷi*) should burn the lamp with the interest accruing out of the money granted

TEXT

1 Śrī-Tirukkuṇagiri-ttēvarkku-ttiruviḷakku-
2 kku Anantavīra-aḍigaḷ aṭṭiṉa [kāśu] padino-
3 ṉṟu ikkāśiṉ poli koṇḍu dēvarkku muṭ-
4 ṭāmai-cceluttuvār-āṉār ippaḷḷiy–uḍai a–
5 ḍigaḷ [| *] aṟam vēṇḍuvār-idu pilaiyāmai-cceyga [|| *]

[Published in *SII*, Vol XIV, No. 128]

Notes : No. 29 above affords one more instance to illustrate the predominance of Kuṟaṇḍi as an important Jaina stronghold in the 9th century A D.

For more details on Ajjaṇandi (No. 31 above), see notes under No. 40 below

In No 32 above, the hill is called Tiru-guṇa-giri and the deity is described as the Lord(*dēva*)of the hill.

Nos. 33-40

Ayyampāḷaiyam, Palani Taluk, Madurai District.
Inscriptions engraved below images near the natural cavern in the hill called Aivarmalai.

Dynasty . . . . King :...............
Date 9th century A D Language and Alphabet · Tamiḷ, Vaṭṭeḷuttu

No 33

Below the second image

Purport . States that the image in question was caused to be made by Varadapāṇi of the village Vaḍapaḷḷi-āramvicci

TEXT

1. Śrī-Vaḍapaḷḷi-ā-
2 ramvicci Vara-
3 dapāṇi śeyal [||*]

[Published in *SII* , Vol XIV, No 107]

No 34

Below the fourth image.

Purport · States that the image in question was caused to be made by Ajjaṇandi.

TEXT

1. Śrī-Accaṇan-
2. di śeyal [| | *]

[Published in *SII*, Vol. XIV, No 108]

No 35

Below the seventh image.

Purport States that the image in question was caused to be made by Indrasēna

TEXT

1. Śrī-Indiraśēṇaṇ
2 śeyal [| | *]

[Published in *SII*, Vol XIV, No 110]

No 36

Below the eighth image

Purport states that the image in question was caused to de made by Mūvēndaṇ, a resident of Nālkūr in Veṇbu-nāḍu.

TEXT

1 Śrī-Veṇbuṇāṭṭu Nā-
2. lkūr kuḍiyāṇ
3 [Mūve]ndaṇ śeyal [| | *]

[Published in *SII*, Vol XIV, No 111]

No 37

Below the ninth image

Purport · States that the image in question was caused to be made by Āri, a *pādamūlattāṇ* of Tiruvarambam

TEXT

1. Triuvarambattil [Pāda]-
2. mūlattāṉ Āri śeyda
3. śeyal [| | *]

[Published in *SII.*, Vol. XIV, No. 112]

No 38.

Below the tenth image

Purport States that the image in question was caused to be made by Mallisena-pperiyāṉ of Perumaḍai, belonging to the Vīra-saṁhga

TEXT

1 Śrī- Vīra-śaṅgattu-Pperumaḍai
2 Malliśēṉa- pperiyāṉ
3 śeyal [| | *]

[Published in *SII* , Vol XIV, No 113]

No 39

Above the natural cave

Purport . States that the image of the god (*dēvar*) was caused to be made by Avvaṉandi-kkurattiyār, the lady disciple of Paṭṭini-kkurattiyār of Perumbatti-ūr

TEXT

1 Śrī-Perumbatti-
2. ūr Paṭṭini-kkura-
3. ttiyār māṇākkiyā-
4 r Avvaṉandi-k-

5. kurattiyār śey-
6. vitta dēvar | |

[Published in *SII*, Vol. XIV, No. 117]

No. 40

Above the natural cave

Purport. Registers a gift of 2 gold *kaḷañju* coins by Vaṭṭam-Vaḍugi, the *śāvikitti* (*śrāvikā*) of Kuvaṉaccēri for conducting the *avippuṟam* service to the god Ayirai-malai-dēvar.

TEXT

1 Kuvaṉaccēri-ttaṭṭār-ccā-
2 vikitti Vaṭṭam-Vaḍu-
3 gi śrī-Ayirai-malai-dēva-
4 rkk-avippuṟam-aṭṭi-
5 ṉa poṉṉ-iru-kaḷañju | | —

[Published in *SII*, Vol XIV, No 116]

Notes Ajjaṉandi, figuring in No 34 above, finds mention in Tamiḻ Jaina inscriptions of the 9th century from Vaḷḷimalai, North Arcot District, Āṉaimalai, Aivarmalai, Karuṅgalakkuḍi and Uttamapāḷaiyam, Madurai District, Ēṟuvāḍi, Tirunelveli District and Tiruccāṇattumalai, former state of Travancore For a discussion on his place in the history of Jainism in Tamiḻnāḍu, see P B Desai *Op cit.*, pp 62-64

The name Paṭṭini-kkurattiyār, *paṭṭini* meaning 'fasting', occurring in No 39 above, is interesting. A certain Paṭṭini-kkuratti-aḍigaḷ figures in another Tamiḻ inscription written in 945 A.D in the reign of the Cōḷa king Parāntaka I (See, P B. Desai. *Op cit*, pp 41–42)

No. 41.

Kaḷugumalai, Kovilpatti Taluk, Tirunelveli District.
On a stone lying near the Ayyaṉār temple.

Dynasty :............ King :........... ...
Date : 9th-10th centuries A.D Language and Alphabet :
Tamiḷ, Vaṭṭeḷuttu

Purport Records some gifts including two perpetual lamps and 25 sheep to the deity Tirumalaimēṟ-bhaṭārar of Tiruneccuṟam by Śāttaṉ Kāḷi of the *cēri* of Kaḷakkuḍimaṅgalam. Another grant of one lamp and 25 sheep is also recorded.

TEXT

1 Śrī [||*] Tiruneccuṟattu-Ttirumalaimēṟ-
2 paṭāra[r]kku Kaḷakkuḍimaṅgala-
3 ttu-ccēri-Ccāttaṉ Kāḷi iṭṭa nondā-
4 viḷakk-iraṇḍu [ca]rum oṉṟu āḍu iru-
5 pattaiñju [| *] ivai ūrār rakṣai [| *]
6 Ivaṉ-aḍiyārai śiyvita yi
7 Viḷakk-oṉṟu āḍu irupattaindu [| | *]

Notes The deity is named herein as Tirumalaimēṟ-paṭārar, i e., the Bhaṭāra (installed) on the Tirumalai (the sacred hill), i e , Kaḷugumalai

[Published in *S I I*, Vol. V, No. 308]

No. 42.

Kīḻśāttamaṅgalam, Wandiwash Taluk, North Arcot District
Natural rock-surface called Perumāḷ-pārai near the Jaina temple of Candranāthasvāmi

Dynasty Cōḷa King : Rajaraja I
Date · 10th regnal year (995 A D.) Language and Alphabet : Tamiḷ

Purport : Records a gift of land for a perpetual lamp to be burnt in the *paḷḷi* of the god Vimalaśrī-Āryatīrtha-paḷḷi-āḻvār by Baladēva-bhaṭāra, the disciple of Ādidēva

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī[‖ *] Kōv-Irājarājakēśarivarmarku yāṇḍu 13 āvadu Veṇkuṉṟa-kkōṭṭattu Veṇkuṉṟa-nāṭṭu- Ccātta-maṅgalatt-ūrōm eṅgaḷ-ūr-ppaḷḷi Vimalaśrī-

2 y-Āryatīrtta-paḷḷi-āḻvārkku śrī-Nandidēvar māṇākkar ip-paḷḷiy-uḍaiya Baladēva-piḍāraṉ vaitta tiunandā-viḷakkukku eṅgaḷ-ūr-ppūmi perum tūmbu pāyum nilam Ilāḍaiyār ceruv-iraṇ-

3 ḍiṟkum teṉpāṟk-ellai Taṉikkuṇḍigaḷukkum kiḍaṅgal-ceruviṟ-koḻurkuttikku vaḍakkum mēlpāṟk-ellai tiruva-ḍigaḷ-pōgattiṟku-kkiḻakkum vaḍapārk-el-

4 lai karambaikkum vilāḍupāṟaikkut-teṟkun-kiḻpārk-ellai karambaikkum paḷippaṭṭiyiṉ koḻukkuttikku mēṟku iṉ-nār-peṟellaiyuḷ- igappaṭṭu uṉ-nilam-oḻivinṟi vilaiyiṟ-kuḍutt-iṟai-

5 y-iḻicci kōyil-variy-ilādu ponda kuḍimaiyum nīr-nilai-yum iṉ-nilam-uḻuda kuḍiyaiyum paḷḷiyaiyum kāṭṭa-pperādad-āgavum iṉ-nilattukku talai-nīr-kaḍ ii-nīr pāya-pperuvad-āgavum [‖*]

Notes While narrating the boundaries of the gift land, there is a reference, in line 3, to *tiruvadigaḷ-bhōgam* which stands for lands given for the enjoyment of Jaina ascetics (*aḍigaḷ*)

This inscription makes it clear that Kiḻśāttamaṅgalam continued to be a live Jaina centre even in the end of the 10th century A D

[Published in *Seminar on Inscriptions* (Madras, 1966), pp 160-61 [

No. 43.

Pañchapāṇḍavamalai, Wandiwash Taluk, North Arcot District. On the western face of the rock which overhangs a natural cave containing a pool of water

Dynasty: Cōḷa King: Rājakēsarivarman
Date: Regnal year 8 (10th century A D) Language and Alphabet: Tamiḷ

Purport: Records that, at the request of his queen, Ilāḍa-mahādēviyār, Vīra-Cōḷa re-assigned to the god of Tiruppāṉmalai certain incomes from the village of Kūragaṉpāḍi

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [| | *]

2 Kōv-Irāja-Rājakēśarivarmarku yāṇḍu 8 āvadu Paḍuvūr-kkōṭṭattu-Pperun-Timirināṭṭu-Ttiruppāṉ-malaip-ppō-

3 gam-āgiya Kūragaṉpāḍi iraiyili-paḷḷiccandattai kīḻ-ppagal-āṇḍa Ilāḍarājargaḷ karpūra-vilai koṇḍu id-dharaman-ke-

4 ṭṭu-ppōginṟad-eṉṟu uḍaiyār-Ilāḍarājar Pugaḻvippa-var-Gaṇḍar magaṉār Vīra-Śōḻar Tiruppāṉmalai-dēva rai-ttiruv-a-

5 ḍi-ttoḻud-eḻund-aruḷi irukka ivar dēviyār-Ilāḍa-mahā-dēviyār kaṟpūra-vilaiyum-aṉṉiyāya-vāvadaṇḍav-iṟai-yum-o-

6 ḻind-aruḷa-vēṇḍum-eṉṟu viṇṇappañ-jeyya uḍaiyār-Vīra-Śōḻar kaṟpūra-vilaiyum-aṉṉiyāya-vāvadaṇḍav-iṟai-

7 yum-oḻiñjōm-eṉṟu arucceyya Aṟiyūr kiḻavaṉ-āgiya Vīra-Śōḻav-Ilāḍa-pperaraiyaṉ-uḍaiyār kanmiyēy-ā-

8 ṇattiy-āgav- idu kaṟpūra-vilaiyum-aṉṉiyāya-vāvadaṇḍa-iṟaiyum-oḻiñju śāsanañ-ceyda-paḍi [| *] Iduv-a-

9 lladu kaṟpūra-vilaiyum-aṉṉiyāya-vāvadaṇḍav-iṟaiyum ip- paḷḷiccandattai-kkoḷvāṉ Gaṅgaiy-i-

10 ḍai-Kkumariy-iḍai-cceydār-śeyda pāvañ-koḷvār-iduv-allad-ip-paḷḷiccandattai keḍuppār vallavarai

11 .. .ṉṟuva [| *] Id-dharmmattai rakṣippāṉ pāda dhūḷiy-eṉ-ṟalai mēlaṉa [| *] Aṟa-maṟavaṟka aṟam-alla tuṇaiy -illai ||

Notes Though the shrine to which the inscription refers is only designated as that of 'the god of Tiruppāṉmalai (Tiruppāṉ-malai-dēvar), the expression *paḷḷiccandam* in line 3 and again in the imprecatory passages in lines 9 and 10 proves that the shrine must have been a Jaina one For, *paḷḷiccandam* usually means a gift to a '*paḷḷi*', a Jaina religious institution

P B Desai (*Jainism in South India*, pp. 39 and 41) suggests that Tiruppāṉmalai-devar must be the name of the seated Jaina carved above the figure of a tiger on the same rock which bears the inscription

[Published in *Ep Ind*, Vol IV, pp- 137–40]

No 44

Tirakkol, wandiwash Taluk, North Arcot District
On the east face of the boulder containing Jaina images

Dynasty Coḷa — King Parakēsarivarmaṉ
Date 10th century — Language and Alphabet Tamiḻ

Purport This partly damaged inscription records some provision, including a gift of 200 sheep, for the daily supply of 2 *nāḻi* of ghee and 10 *nāḻi* of oil to the Jaina temple mai-śitta-Perumbaḷḷi at Śrīdaṇḍapuram in Poṉṉūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Veṇkuṉṟa-kkōṭṭam, by one Eṟa-Nandi *alias* Naratoṅga-Pallavaraiyaṉ of

Nelvēlı in Nelvēli-nāḍu of Paṉaiyūr-nāḍu, a division of Cōḷa-nāḍu.

TEXT

1. Svasti śrī [| | *] Kō-Pparakēśarıpa–
2. ṉmaṟku yāṇḍu mūṉṟāvadu Cōḷa–nāṭṭu–
3. tteṉkaraı-Ppaṉaiyūr-nāṭṭu Nelvēlı-nāṭṭu
4. Nelvēlıy-uḍaiyāṉ Eṟa–Nandıy-āgıya Naratoṅga-
5. Ppallavaraıyaṉ Veṇkuṉṟa-kkōṭṭattu
6. Pponṉūr-nāṭṭu Śrīdaṇḍapurattu-
7. . maı-śıtta-Perumbaḷḷı ırukkun-Gura . ṉārkku candırādı-
8. ttar-uḷḷayaḷavun-nıśadıppaḍı aṭṭu ney iru-nāḷiyum
9. eṇṇeı padıṉāḷıyum nıśadıppaḍı ṭuvadāga vaı-
10 ttāṉ ıdu muṭṭāme aṭṭuvıppa . runūṟu āḍu-
11. m koṇḍu aṭṭuvıppāṉ ṉāṉa . ıdu mu-
12 ṭṭuvadāyıl ı-ppaḷ-
13 ḷıkkum-ı-ccavaıyārk-
14 kum pıḷaıttār-āvar
15. ı-ppaḷḷıyār [||*]

[Publıshed ın *SII*, Vol XIX, No. 51]

No 45.

Śıṅgavaram, Gıngee Taluk, South Arcot Dıstrıct
On a rock ın the Tırunātharkuṉṟu near the vıllage

Dynasty .... King·. . ...
Date : 10 century A.D. Language and Alphabet Tamıḷ

Purport · Records the death of Iḷaıya-Bhaṭārar after observing fast for 30 days.

TEXT

1 Muppadu-nāḷ-aṉaśaṉa nōṟṟa
2. I[ḷai]ya-Bhaṭārar niśidigai [| | *]

[Published in *SII*, Vol XVII, No 261]

Nos 46-75.

Kaḻugumalai, Kovilpatti Taluk, Tirunelveli District.
On the first section of the overhanging rock in the Kaḻugumalai hill Below the rock-cut Jaina images

Dynasty . . . . King ... .
Date: 10th-11th centuries A.D Language and Alphabet Tamiḻ, Vaṭṭeḻuttu

No. 46

Purport Records that the sacred image was caused to be made by Śāttan Dēvaṉ of Pēreyiṟkuḍi, the disciple of Guṇasāgara-bhaṭāra.

TEXT

1 Śrī-Guṇasāgara-paṭāra-
2 r śiḍaṉ Pēreyi-
3 ṟkuḍi Śāttan Dē-
4 vaṉ śeyvitta ti-
5 rumēṉi [| | *]

[Published in *SII*, Vol V, No 310]

No. 47.

Purport Records that the sacred image was caused to be made by Puṣpaṇandi born of Pādamūlattāṉ of Tirukkōṭṭāṟu

TEXT

1. Śrī-Tirukkōṭṭā-
2. ṟṟu Pādamūla-
3. ttāṉ śaṉmam Pu-
4. ṭppaṇandi śe-
5. yvitta tirumēṉi [| | *]

[Published in *ibid.*, No. 313]

No. 48.

Purport [Records that] Śrīnandi, the senior disciple of Śrī-Vardhamāna of Malaikkuḷam [caused the sacred image to be made].

TEXT

1 Śrī-Malaikkuḷat-
2. tu Śrī-Vattamā-
3. ṉa-pperumāṉā-
4. kkar Śrīnandi
5 . . . . . .

[Published in *ibid*, No 314]

No. 49.

Purport. Records that the sacred image was caused to be made by Śāntisēna-pperiyār, the disciple of Uttaṉandi-kkuravaḍigaḷ of Tirukkōṭṭāṟu.

TEXT

1. Śrī-Tirukkōṭṭāṟṟu
2. Uttaṉandi-kku-

3 ravaḍigaḷ māṇākkar

4 Śāntiśēṇa-ppeṟi-

5. yār śeyvitta tiru[mē]-

6 [ṉi] [| | *]

[Published in *ibid*, No 316]

No 50.

Purport Records that the sacred image was caused to be made by Kaṇakavīra-aḍigaḷ, the disciple of Baladēva-kkuravaḍigaḷ of Tirunaṟuṅgoṇḍai

TEXT

1 Śrī-Tirunaṟuṅgo-

2 ṇḍai [Bala]dēva-k-

3 kuravaḍigaḷ māṇāk-

4 kar Kanakavira-aḍigaḷ

5 śeyvitta tiṟumēṉi] [| | *]

[Published in *ibid*, No 317]

No 51

Purport Records that the sacred image was caused to be made by the (lady teacher) Piccai-kuratti of Śiṟupoḷal in Iḍaikkaḷanāḍu

TEXT

1 Śri-Iḍaikkaḷa -nā-

2 ṭṭu Śirupo-

3 ḷa[l] Piccai-ku-

4 [ṟa]tti śeyvit-

5 [ta] tirumēṉi [|]

[Published in *ibid*, No 319]

No. 52.

Purport: Records that the sacred image was caused to be made by Śiri .. - kurattiyār, the (lady) disciple of (the lady teacher) Kāṇi-kkuratti of Paḷayiṟai.

TEXT

1. Śrī-Paḷayiṟai-Kkā-
2 ṇi-kkuratiy
3. māṇākkiyar Śiri
4. . . . kurattiyār
5. [śeyvitta] tiru[mēṉi] [||*]

[Published in *ibid* No. 320]

No. 53.

Purport. Records that the sacred image was caused to be made by Tiruchchāraṇattu-bhaṭārigaḷ, the (lady) disciple of (the lady teacher) Miḷalūr-kkurattiyār.

TEXT

1. Śrī-Miḷalūr-kku-
2, rattiyār māṇā-
3. kkiyār Tiruchchā-
4. raṇat[tu-paṭāri]gaḷ śe-
5. yvitta ti[ru]mē]ṉi] [||*]

[Published in *ibid.*, No. 321]

No 54.

Purport. Records that the sacred image was caused to be made by

Śirivisaiya(= Śrīvijaya)-kkurattıyār, the (lady) dısciple of (the lady teacher) Taccaṉ-Śaṅga-kkurattıgaḷ of Veṇbaıkkuḍi, for the merit of Śēndañcātti.

TEXT

1. Śrī-Veṇbaikkuḍı Ta-
2. ccaṉ-Śaṅga-kkura-
3. ttıgaḷ māṇākkıyār
4 Śirıvısaıya-kkurat-
5. tıyār Śēndañcāttı-
6. yaı cārttı śeyvıtta tı-
7. [rumēṉı] [| | *]

[Publıshed ın *ıbıd*, No 322]

No. 55

Purport · Records that the ımage was caused to be made by Tıruccāraṇattu-kkurattıgaḷ for the merıt of Śaḍaıyaṉ Koṟṟı of Koṭṭūr-nāḍu

TEXT

1. Śrī-Koṭṭūr-nāṭṭu
2. Śıṟu Italı
3 Śaḍaıyaṅ-Koṟṟıyaı
4. cārtti Tıruccāraṇa-
5. ttu-kkurattigaḷ śey-
6. vıtta paḍimam [| | *]

[Publıshed ın *ıbıd*, No 324]

No. 56

Purport : Records that the sacred image was caused to be made by Śiṟu-bhaṭāra, the disciple of [.] tori-bhaṭāra of Kuṟaṇḍi.

TEXT

1. *Śrī-Kuṟaṇḍi . . to-*
2. ri-paṭārar māṇākka-
3. r Śiṟu-ppaṭārar śe-
4. yvitta tirumēṉi [| | *]

[Published in *ibid.*, No. 325]

No. 57.

Purport : Records that the image was caused to be made by Tiruccāraṇattu-kkurattigaḷ for the merit of Kūttaṉ Kāmaṉ of Perumbaṟṟūr in Koṭṭūr-nāḍu

TEXT

1. Śrī-Koṭṭūr-nāṭṭu Pe-
2. rumbaṟṟūr Kū-
3. ttaṅ-Kāmaṉai-cāt-
4. ti Tiruccāraṇat-
5. tu-kkurattigaḷ śey-
6. da paḍimam | | | —

[Published in *ibid*, No. 326]

No. 58.

Purport : Records that the image was caused to be made by Śāntisēṉa-aḍigaḷ, the disciple of Vimaḷacandra-kkuravaḍigaḷ of Tirukkōṭṭāṟu.

TEXT

1 Śrī-Tırukkōṭ-
2 ṭāṟṟu Vıma-
3 lacandıra-kku-
4. ravaḍıgaḷ māṇā-
5 kkar Śāntıśē-
6 ṇa-aḍıgaḷ
7 śeyvıt[ta]
8 paḍımam [||*]

[Publıshed ın *ibıd*, No 333]

No 59

Purport Records that the sacred ımage was caused to be made by Ādıtya-bhaṭāra, the dısciple of Kaṇakaṇandı-bhaṭṭāraka

TEXT

1 Śrī-Kaṇakaṇandı-
2 paṭṭārakar-mā-
3 ṇākkar-Ādıt-
4 ta-paṭārar śeyvı-
5 tta-tırumēṇı [||*]

[Publıshed ın *ibıd*, No. 341]

No 60

Purport : Records that the sacred ımage was caused to be made by Kaṇakaṇandı-pperıyār, the dıscıple of Tīrtha-bhaṭāra of Kuṟaṇḍı.

TEXT

1 Śrī-Kuraṇḍi-Tīrt-
2. ta-paṭārar māṇā-
3 kkar Ka[ṇaka]ṇandı-
4 ppe[ri]yār śey-
5 vıtta tırumēṇı [||*]

[Publıshed ın *ıbıd*, No 345]

No. 61

Pnrport. Records that the sacred ımage was caused to be made by Nāṭṭıga-bhaṭārar, the (lady) dıscıple of (the lady teacher) Nālkūr-kkurattıgaḷ

TEXT

1 Śrī-Nālkūr-kk-
2 rattıgaḷ mā-
3 ṇākkı Nāṭ-
4, ṭıga-ppaṭārar
5 śāra śeyvıtta
6 tırumēṇı [||*]

[Publıshed ın *ıbıd*, No. 355]

No. 62

Purport · Registers the name of Nālkūr-kkurattıgaḷ, the (lady) dıscıple of Amalanēmı-bhaṭāra of Nālkūr The Text may also be taken to refer to the lady dısciples *(mānākkigaḷ)* of Amalanēmi-bhaṭāra, who were also the lady teachers (*kurattıgaḷ*) of Nālkūr.

TEXT

1. Śrī-Nālkūr-Amala-
2. nēmi-paṭāra-mā-
3. ṇākkigaḷ Nāl-
4. kūr-kkurattigaḷ [| | *]

[Published in *ibid*, No. 356]

No 63.

Purport · Records that the sacred image was caused to be made by Pūrṇṇacandran, the disciple of Kanakanandi-bhaṭāra of Kuraṇḍi

TEXT

1. Śrī-Kuraṇḍi Kanaka-
2. nandi-paṭārar māṇā-
3. kkaṉ Pūrṇṇacandran
4. śeyvitta tiru-
5. [mēṉi] [| | *]

[Published in *ibid*, No 359]

No. 64

Purport Records that the sacred image was caused to be made by the lady teachers (*kurattigaḷ*) of Iḷaneccuram, who were the disciples of Tīrtha-bhaṭāra. The text may also be interpreted to mean that the sacred image was caused to be made by Iḷaneccurattu-kkurattigaḷ, the lady disciple of Tīrtha-bhaṭāra.

TEXT

1. Śrī-Tīrtta-paṭā-
2. rar māṇākkigaḷ
3. Iḷaneccuṟat-
4. tu-kkuṟattigaḷ [śe]-
5. yvitta tirumēṇi [| | *]

[Published in *ibid.*, No 369]

No. 65

Purport Records that the image was made for the merit of *Enādi* Kuttaṇ, the disciple of (the lady teacher) Tirumalai-kkurattigaḷ (or, the disciple of the lady teachers of Tirumalai)

TEXT

1 Śrī-Tiruma[lai]-k-
2. kurattigaḷ
3 māṇākkaṇ Ē-
4 nādi Kutta-
5 [ṇai-c]cātti-c-
6. ceyvitta pa-
7 ḍimam [| | *]

[Published in *ibid.*, No. 370]

No. 66

Purport : Records that the work (of having the image made) was that of Araṭṭanēmmi(Ariṣṭanēmi)-kkurattigaḷ, the lady disciple of Mammai-kurattigaḷ

TEXT

1. Śrī-Mammai-
2. kurattigaḷ
3. māṇākkigaḷ
4. Araṭṭanēm-
5. mi-kkuratti-
6. gaḷ-(c)ceyal [| | *]

[Published in *ibid*, No 371]

No 67

Purport Records that the work (of having the image made) was that of Tirupparutti-kurattigaḷ, the lady disciple of Paṭṭiṇi-bhaṭāra The expression Tirupparutti-kkurattigaḷ may also stand for the lady teachers (*kurattigaḷ*) of the place called Tirupparutti

TEXT

1 Śrī-Paṭṭiṇi–pa-
2 ṭāra-māṇāk-
3 kigaḷ Tirup-
4 parutti-kku-
5 rattigaḷ śe-
6. [yal] [| | *]

[Published in *ibid*. No 372]

No. 68.

Purport Records that the work (of having the image made)

was that of Pavaṇandi (Bhavanandi)-bhaṭāra, the disciple of Paḍikkamaṇa (Pratikramaṇa)-bhaṭāra.

TEXT

1. Śrī-Paḍikkama-
2. ṇa-paṭārar māṇā-
3. kkar-Pavaṇandi-ppe-
4 .riyār śeyal [||*]

[Published in *ibid*, No. 380]

No. 69.

Purport Records that the sacred image was caused to be made by Dayāpāla-pperiyār, the disciple of Tirumalaiyar-Mōni-bhaṭāra of Kaḍaikkāṭṭūr.

TEXT

1 Śrī-Kaḍaikāṭṭū-
2. r Tirumalaiya-
3 r-Mōni-paṭārar mā-
4 ṇākkar Dayāpāla-
5 pperiyār śeyvi-
6 tta tirumēṇi [||*]

[Published in *ibid*, No 383]

No. 70.

Purport Records that the sacred image was caused to be made by Kuṇṇūr-yōgiyār, the disciple of Vimalacandra-kkuravaḍigaḷ of Tirunāṭṭūr.

TEXT

1, Śrī-Tirunāṭṭūr
2 Vimaḷacandira-
3. kkuravaḍigaḷ māṇā-
4. kkar Kuṇṇūr-yōgi-
5. yār śeyvitta tiru-
6. [mēṇi] [||*]

[Published in *ibid*, No. 384]

No 71

Purport · Records that the image was caused to be made by Śāntisēna-aḍigaḷ, the disciple of Vimaḷacandra-kkuravaḍigaḷ of Tirukkōṭṭāṟu.

TEXT

1 Śrī-Tirukkōṭ-
2 ṭāṟṟu Vima-
3 ḷacandira-k-
4 kuravaḍigaḷ
5 māṇākkar Śā-
6 ntisēna-a-
7 ḍigaḷ śey-
8 vicca paḍima-
9 m [||*]

[Published in *ibid*, No- 390]

No 72

Purport · Records that the sacred image was caused to be made by Peṟānandi-bhaṭāra, the disciple of Puṣpaṇandi-bhaṭāra

TEXT

1. Śrī-Puṭppaṇandi-
2. paṭārar māṇākkar
3. Peṟānandi-paṭārar śe-
4 [yvicca] tirumēṇi [||*]

[Published in *ibid*, No 391]

No 73

Purport · Records that the image was caused to be made by Miḷalūr-kkurattigaḷ, the lady disciple of Pērūr-kkurattiyār, the daughter of Miṅgaikumāṉ of Piḍaṅguḍi in Karaikkāṉa-nāḍu.

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Karaikkāṉa-nāṭṭu-Ppiḍaṅguḍi Miṅgai-
2 kumāṉār magaḷār-āṉa Pērūr-kkurattiyār māṇā-
3 kkiyār Miḷalūr-kkurattigaḷ śeyvitta paḍi-
4. mam |—

[Published in *ibid.*, No 394]

No. 74

Purport Records that Kūḍaṟkkuḍi-kurattiyār caused the two sacred images to be made both on her own behalf and on behalf of Śēndaṉ of Iḷaveṇbaikkuḍi.

TEXT

1. Śrī-Iḷaveṇbai[kkuḍi]- Śēndaṉ pērā-
2. lum tam-pērālum Kūḍaṟk-
3. kuḍi-kurattiyār śeyvi-
4. tta tirumēṇi iraṇḍum [||*]

[Published in *ibid.*, No. 395]

No 75

Purport : Records that the work (*i e* of having the image made) was that of Miḷalūr-kkurattiyār and she had it made for the merit of Guṇanandi-periyār, the disciple of Mūtta-Araṭṭa [Ariṣṭa] nēmi-bhaṭāra of Veḷarkkuḍi

TEXT

1 Śrī-Veḷarkkuḍi-Mūtta-
2 Araṭṭanēmi-paṭārar
3. māṇākkar Guṇanandi-pe-
4 riyārai-ccārtti Mi-
5 ḷalūr-kkurattiyā-
6 r śeyal [| | *]

[Published in *ibid*, No 398]

Notes On the same rock surface there are nearly a hundred such label inscriptions (*SII*, Vol. V, No 309-56, 358-60 and 362-404) which are all Jaina as is evidenced by the fact that they are all engraved below rock-cut Jaina figures Of these texts of only 29 inscriptions have been given above selecting them on the basis of the state of their preservation and also their contents

These inscriptions bear testimony to the fact that Kaḷugumalai was an important holy centre of Jainism in the 9th-10th centuries and that Jaina teachers, disciples and lay followers, both male and female, used to visit that place on pilgrimage

The Male teachers and disciples are referred to as *paṭṭāraka* (= *bhaṭṭaraka*), *paṭara* (*bhaṭara*), *kuravadigaḷ* (from Sanskrit *gurupadaḥ*), *aḍigaḷ* (from Sanskrit *padah*), *periyār* (= Sanskrit *mahan*) and *yōgiyar* while female teachers and

disciples are referred to as *kurattiyār* or *kurattigaḷ* (feminine form of *kuravar* from Sanskrit *guravaḥ*) and *paṭārigaḷ* (from Sanskrit *bhaṭṭārikā*). The images which are carved out of the rocks by and for the merit of monastic or lay individuals are mentioned either as *tiru-mēṉi* (sacred image) or as *paḍimam* (=Sanskrit *pratimā*).

It is interesting to note that the female teachers are mostly mentioned, not by any proper name, unlike as in the case of the male teachers, but with the vocational term *kurattiyār* or *kurattigaḷ* meaning 'lady teacher' suffixed to the name of a place Examples are Miḷalūr-kurattiyār (No 75), Tiruccāraṇattu-bhaṭāri (No 53) Tiruccāraṇattu-kurattigaḷ (Nos 55 and 57), Nālkūr-kurattigaḷ (Nos. 61 and 62), Iḷaneccuṟattu-kurattigaḷ (No 64), Tirumalai-kurattigaḷ (No 65), Tirupparutti-kurattigaḷ (No 67), Perūr-kurattiyār (No 73) and Kūḍaṟkuḍi-kurattiyār (No 74) It may be reasonably concluded that these places were important Jaina strongholds and that female lay followers were the mainstay of the Jaina faith in the Tamiḷ country

For further information on Kaḷugumalai and its inscriptions and their importance, see P B Desai *Jainism in South India* (Sholapur 1957), pp 64-68

No. 76

Tirumalai, Polur Taluk, North Arcot District.
On a buried rock in front of the *gōpura* at the base of the hill

Dynasty Cōḷa	King Rājarāja I
Date Regnal year 21 (1005 A D)	Language and Alphabet Tamiḷ

Purport· The inscription records that the great monk (*ma-munivaṉ*) Guṇavīra constructed a sluice near Vaigai-malai and named it after the Jaina teacher Gaṇiśēkhara-Maru-Poṟcūriyaṉ. Guṇavīra is eulogised as one whose feet are worshipped by kings

TEXT

(Lines 1-5 are in the nature of royal *praśasti*)

6. Arumolikku yāṇḍu irubattoṉṟāvad-eṉṟuṅ-kalai-puriyu-
   matinipuṇaṉ veṇ-kitaṉ
7. Gaṇiccēkara-Maru-Poṟcūriyaṉ-ṟaṉ nāmattāl vāma-
   nilai-niṟkuṅ-
8. kaling-ittu nimir Vaigai-malaikku nīḍūḷi iru-maruṅgum
   nel viḷaiya-
9. kkaṇḍōn kulai-puriyum-paḍai-araiśar koṇḍāḍum
   pādam Guṇavīra-māmunivaṉ
10 kulir-Vagai-kkōvei [| | *]

[Published in *SII*, Vol I, No 66]

No 77

Tirumalai, Polur Taluk, North Arcot District
On a rock buried underneath the steps between the *gopura* and the painted cave

Dynasty	Cōḷa	King	Parakēsarivarman (Rājēndra I)
Date	Regnal year 12 (1024 A D)	Language and Alphabet ·	Tamiḷ, Tamiḷ and Grantha

Purport Records the gift of a lamp to the god of the Tirumalai temple, called Ārambhaṇandin, and allots money for the maintenance of this lamp and of another lamp, donated by Śiṉṉavai, the queen of the Pallava king.

TEXT

(Lines 1 to 21 and a part of line 22 contain the usual Tamiḷ *praśasti* of the ruler)

22 kō-Pparakēśaripanmar-āṉa uḍaiyār
23. śrī-Rājēndracoḷadēvaṟku

yāṇḍu 12 āvadu Jayaṅgoṇḍa-śōḷa-maṇḍalattu-Ppāṅgaḷa-nāṭṭu naḍuvil-vagai Mugai-nāṭṭu-ppaḷḷi-

24. ccandam Vaigāvūr-Tirumalaidēvaṟku Iḷaiya-maṇi-naṅgai vaitta tiru-nandāviḷakk-oṉṟu [|*] Idaṟku bhūmi tirutta-kkuḍutta

25. kāśu irubadu [|*] I-ppūmiyāl candrādittavar i-vviḷakku i-ppaḷḷi uḍaiya Ārambhaṇandikku nittam nandāviḷakk-oṉṟu-

22. m [|*] Pallavaraśar dēviyār Śiṉṉavaiyār candrādit-tavar vaitta nandāviḷakk-oṉṟukku kuḍutta kāśu oṉbadu [||*]

Notes: P. B. Desai (*Jainism in South India*, pp. 43-44) suggests (p. 44, f. n. 2) that the name Ārambhaṇandi may stand for Ṛṣabhanātha, the first Tīrthaṅkara.

[Published in *ibid.*, No. 68]

No. 78.

Tirumalai, Polur Taluk, North Arcot District.
On a smooth piece of rock near a rock-cut Jaina figure on the top of the hill.

Dynasty : Cōḷa	King : Parakēśarivarmaṉ (Rājēndra I)
Date : Regnal year 13 (1025 A.D.)	Language and Alphabet : Tamiḷ, Tamiḷ and Grantha

Purport: Records a gift of money for a lamp and for offerings to to the Jaina temple, called Kundavai-Jinālaya, on the hill by Cāmuṇḍabbai, the wife of the merchant Naṉṉappayaṉ of Malliyūr in Perumbāṇappāḍi.

TEXT

(Lines 1 to 11 and part of line 12 contain the usual Tamiḷ *praśasti* of the ruler)

12. ... kō-Pparakēśaripaṉmar-āṉa uḍaiyār śrī-Rājēndra-cōḷadēvaṟku yāṇḍu 13 āvadu Jayaṅgoṇḍa-śōḷa-maṇḍalattu Pāṅgaḷa-nāṭṭu naḍuvil
13. vagai Mugai-nāṭṭu-ppaḷḷiccandam Vaigāvūr-Ttiru-malai śrī-Kundavai-Jinālayattu dēvaṟku-Pperum-bāṇappāḍi-Kkaraivaḷi Malliyūr irukkum vyā-
14. pāri Naṉṉappayaṉ maṇavāṭṭi Cāmuṇḍabbai vaitta tirunandāviḷakku oṉṟiṉukku-kkāśu irubadum vaitta kāśu pattum [| | *]

Notes : The name of the temple suggests that 'the shrine owed its foundation to Kundavai, the daughter of Parāntaka II (   ), elder sister of Rājarāja I (   ) and paternal aunt of Rājēndra I
Tirumalai is stated to have formed part of Vaigavūr, a *paḷḷiccandam*, *i e* , 'a village belonging to a Jaina temple'
The names Cāmuṇḍabbai (Cāmuṇḍabbe) and Naṉṉappayaṉ clearly show that the donor and her husband were of Kannaḍa origin

[Published in *SII* Vol I, p 98, *Ep Ind* , Vol IX, pp 229-33]

No. 79

Tirumalai, Polur Taluk, North Arcot District
On a rock to the left of the painted cave
Dynasty Cōḷa
Date 11th century
King Parakēśarivarmaṉ
Language and Alphabet · Tamiḷ

Purport Records a gift of gold for the daily offerings to Paḷḷiy-āḷvār (Jaina Tīrthaṅkara) and for feeding one ascetic (*aḍigaḷ*) in the *paḷḷi* at Tirumalai near Vaigāvūr in Pāṅgaḷa-nāḍu, a subdivision of Palkuṉṟa-kkōṭṭam, by Viṟcēvagaṉ Piḍāraṉ Būttugaṉ and Viṟcamanāyakaṉ Candayaṉ Āyiravaṉ belonging respectively to Irumaḍiśōḷa-Karunāḍaga-Kaḍuttalai and Madhurāntaka-Karu-nāḍaga-Kaḍuttalai, two regiments of the king

TEXT

1 Svasti śrī [| | *] Kō-Pparakēśaripaṉmarkki yāṇḍu nālā-
2. vadu Palkuṉṟa-kkōṭṭattu-Ppāṅgaḷa-nāṭṭu Vai-
3 ygāvūr-Tirumalai-ppaḷḷiyil niśadam-oru aḍigaḷmārkku-
4. ccōṟu vaittār Irumaḍiśōḷa-Kkarunāḍaga-Kkaḍuttalai Viṟ-
5 cēvagaṉ Piḍāraṉ Būttugaṉum Madhurāntaka-Kkarunāḍaga-k-
6 Kaḍuttalai Viṟcamanāyakaṉ Candayaṉ-Āyiravaṉum-ivv-i-
7 ruvōñ-candirādittar-uḷḷaḷavum niṟka vaittōm-ida-
8 ṉukku nārkkaḷañju poṉṉāl vanda paliśaiyyāl-ap-Pa-
9 ḷḷiy-āḷvārai ūṭṭuvittōm [| | *]

Notes The two personal names Būttuga and Candaya as also the names of the two regiments to which they belonged suggest that the donors hailed from Karnāṭaka It thus becomes clear that the Jaina temple (*paḷḷi*) of Tirumalai was of widely acknowledged sanctity

[Published in *ibid*, Vol. III, No 97]

No 80.

Tirumalai, Polur Taluk, North Arcot District.
On the outer wall of the doorway, which leads to the painted cave

Dynasty · Cēra — Kings · Adigaimāṉ Eḻiṉi and Viḍukādaḷagiya-Perumāḷ

Date: C. 11th century A D — Language and Alphabet Tamiḷ and Sanskrit, Tamiḷ and Grantha

Purport States that the images of a *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī*, originally set up on the holy mountain of Arhat by Adigaimāṉ Eḻiṉi of the

Cēra family having become decayed in course of time, they were restored and placed under worship by Viḍukādaḷagiya-Perumāḷ, son of Rājarāja and a later descendant of Eḷiṉi. The Sanskrit verse in lines 3-7 names Eḷiṉi as Yavanika and describes him as the ruler of Kēraḷa while the name Viḍukādaḷagiya is rendered into Sanskrit as Vyāmuktaśravaṇōjvala.

1 Svasti śrī [| | *] Cēra-vaṁśattu Adigaimāṉ Eḷiṉi ceyda dharmmam [| *]

2. Yakṣaraiyum Yakṣiyāraiyum eḷund-aruḷu vittu erimaṇi-yum i-

3 ṭṭu-kkaḍappēri-kkaḷuri-kaṇḍu kuḍuttāṉ | | Śrimat-Kēraḷa-bhūbhṛ-

4. tā Yavanika-nāmnā sudharmmātmanā Tuṇḍīr-āhvaya maṇḍal-Ārha-sugirau

5. Yakṣēśvarau kalpitau [|] paśchāt-tat-kula-bhūṣaṇ-ādhika-

6. nṛpa-śrī-Rājarāj-ātmaja-Vyāmuktaśravaṇōjvalēna Ta-kaṭā-nāthēna jirṇṇō-

7. ddhṛtau [| | *] Vañjiyar kulapatiy-Eḷiṉi vaguttav-Iyakkar-Iyakkiyarō-

8. ḍ-eñjiyav-aḷivu tiruttiy-iv-Eṇguṇav-iṛai-Tirumalai vait-tāṉ a-

9 ñcitan vaḷi-varum-avaṉ vaḷi mudal-igaḷi [adigana-vagan] . nul viñjaiyar

10. [stha] la punaitāga maiyar kāvalaṉ Viḍukādaḷagiya-Perumāḷēi [| | *]

Notes The Sanskrit verse names the hill on which the images were carved as Arha[t*]-sugiri while the Tamiḷ portion names it as Eṇguṇav-iṛai-Tirumalai "Eṇ-guṇaṉ is an attribute of the Arhat The eight qualities are, according to Jaina books infinite wisdom, omniscience, omnipotence, boundless happiness, being nameless, without descent, without age and unobstructed."

[Published in *SII*, Vol I, p 107, footnote 1.]

No. 81.

Tirumalai, Polur Taluk, North Arcot District.
In a small shrine below the painted cave,

Dynasty :........................ King : .. ..
Date : c. 11th century A D Language and Alphabet : Tamiḷ, Tamiḷ and Grantha

Purport Records that Ariṣṭanēmi-ācāryar, the disciple of Paravādimalla of Kaḍai-kkoṭṭūr-Tirumalai, had the image of *Yakṣi* made.

TEXT

1. Svasti śrī [| | *] Kaḍaikkōṭ-
2. ṭūr-Ttirumalai-Pparavādima-
3. llar māṇākkar Ariṣṭanē-
4. mi-ācāryyar śey-
5. vitta yakṣi-ttiru-
6. mēṇi ||

Notes (1) It is interesting to note that a Jaina teacher named Paravādimalla figures in an inscription from Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa and was a contemporary of Kṛṣṇarāja

[Published in *SII*, Vol. I, No 73]

No 82

Ammāśattiram, Pudukkottai Taluk, Tiruchirappalli District
At the entrance of the natural cave, east of the rock known as Āḷuruṭṭimalai

Dynasty . Pāṇḍya King : Māṟavarmaṉ Sundarapaṇḍya I
Date · 1216 A D Language and Alphabet Tamiḷ

Purport: This damaged inscription seems to record a grant of land in Periyapaḷḷivayal as *paḷḷiccandam* to Nāyaṉār Tirumāṉaimalai-Āḻvar by Pāmbaiyūr-uḍaiyāṉ Śeṅguḍi Ānainaditēṉār Perumagaṉ *alias* Gaṅgādhara, a merchant Kanakacandra-paṇḍita and his disciple Dhanmadēva-ācārya are mentioned

TEXT

1 .. .. ruvanmarāṉa Tribhuvaṉaccakravartigaḷ Sundarapāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu

2 . . . ḍi-koṇḍa-śōḷa- . . . . tu Teliṅgakulakālapuram-āṉa Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-paṭṭaṇattu paḷḷiccandam-āṉa An . . .. .

3 Uḍaiyār Kanakacandira-paṇḍitar māṇākkar Dhanmadēva-ācāriyaṉum Tiruppaḷḷi . 1 Āḻvār māṇākkar Āḻvāṉ pari ...

4, . nagarattu viyāpāri Pāmbaiyūr-uḍaiyāṉ Śeṅguḍi Ānainaditēṉār-perumagaṉ-āṉa Geṅgādharar kkukalveṭṭi i-ppira

5 . . ḍutta pariś-āvadu Periyapaḷḷivayalil Nāyaṉār Tirumaṉaimalai-Āḻvār paḷḷiccandamāy-engaḷukku arccanā-bhōgamāy vaiugira nilam iraṇḍu māvuk-

6 . lai āvadu kiḻpākkellai ikkuḷattil karaikku mērkum teṉpākkellai kal-kuḷumiyi na terku nōkki po mēkk-ōḍiya vākkālukku

Notes 1) The hillocks near Ammāśattiram served, in days of yore, as the abodes of the Jaina ascetics Two other inscriptions from the village call the local deity as Tiruppaḷḷimalai-Āḻvār (See *SII*, Vol XVII, Introduction, p vii)

2) It is very probable that the village name Ammāśattiram is a corrupt form of the earlier name Amaṇ-śattiram (Sanskrit Śramaṇasattra)

[Published in *SII*, Vol, XVII, No 397]

No. 83.

Bommaimalai, Kulattur Taluk, Tiruchirappalli District.
On the Bommaimalai rock.

Dynasty : Pāṇḍya
Date : (Hijra ?) year 675
(1276 A.D.)

King : Kōṉēriṉmaikoṇḍāṉ
Language and alphabet : Tamil

Purport : Registers a royal gift of the village Koṟṟamaṅgalam in Teṉśiruvāyil-nāḍu along with tax-exemptions and privileges to the trustees (*uḍaiyārgaḷ*) of the two Jaina temples Tiruppaḷḷimalai-ppaḷḷi and Teṉtiruppaḷḷimalai-ppaḷḷi for offerings and daily services to the deities, including the *tiruppaḍimāṟṟu* service. Two thirds of the village was given to Tiruppaḷḷimalai-ppaḷḷi-nāyakar and the remaining one third to Teṉtiruppaḷḷimalai-ppaḷḷi-nāyakar.

TEXT

1 Svasti Śrī [| | *] Tribhuvanaccakravartti Kōṉēriṉ-
2 maikoṇḍāṉ Tiruppaḷḷimalai-ppaḷḷi u-
3 ḍaiyārgaḷukkum Teṉtiruppaḷḷimalai-p-
4. paḷḷi-uḍaiyārgaḷukkum Tiruppaḷḷimalai-nā
5 (nā)yakarkkum Teṉtiruppaḷḷimalai-nāyakarkku-
6 m tiruppaḍimāṟṟ-uḷḷiṭṭa nitta-nimandaṅ-
7 gaḷukku-Tteṉśiruvāyil-nāṭṭu-Kko-
8 ṟṟamaṅgalam nāṉg-ellaikk-uṭ-
9. paṭṭa nīr-nilamuṅ-karuñjey puṉśeyyum
10 nattamuṅ-tōṭṭamuṅ-kuḷamuṅ-kuḷappārippum-uṭ-
11. paṭṭa nilamum kaḍamaiyu antarāya-
12. mum viniyōgamum taruvad-āṉa a-
13 ccum kāriyav-arāṭciyum veṭṭi-
14. pāṭṭamum pañjupili śandivigraha-
15. ppēṟu vāśaṟpēṟu ilāñji-

16. ṉaippēṟu tariyiṟai śekkiṟai-
17. ttaṭṭōli-pāṭṭamum-iḍaiyar-variyum iṉa-variyum
18 poṉ-variyum maṟṟum-eppeyarppaṭṭiṉavu-
19. m-uṭpaḍa āṟāvadu mudal paḷḷiccanda-iṟaiyiliy-āga-
20. Ttiruppaḷḷimalai-nāyakarkku iru-kūṟum Teṉtiruppaḷḷi-
21 malai-nāyakarkku oṟu-kūṟuṅ-kuduttōm [| *]
ippaḍikku iv-
22 v-ōlai piḍipāḍ-āga-kkoṇḍu puravilum variyiluṅ-ka-
23 lippittu-ccandirādittavaṟ-śelvad-āga iraṇḍu Tirumalai-
24 yiluṅ-kallilum veṭṭi nāṉg-ellaiyilum śrī-mukku-
25. ḍaikkallum nāṭṭi-kkoḷga [| *] ivai Paḷandīparāyaṉ-
eḻuttu
26 āṇḍu 675 [| *] ivai Villavarāyaṉ-eḻuttu
27 ivai Teṉṉavadaraiyaṉ-eḻuttu [| | *]

Notes Interestingly enough, in line 26 of the above text, the date of the inscription is stated to be the year 675 which, in view of the fact that the record belongs to the 13th century on internal evidence, could be referred only to the Hijra era Nothing could better illustrate the traditional religious tolerance of the Indians than this fact that in an era when Jainism had ceased to be a major religious force in the Tamil country, the ruling king made grants to two Jaina temples and got them recorded in an inscription dated in the era of the Muslims

While Teṉtiruppaḷḷimalai is the same as Bommaimalai on which the record is engraved, Tiruppaḷḷimalai is the nearby Āluruṭṭimalai, also an ancient Jaina centre.

According to lines 24–25 the trustees were authorised to demarcate their lands with *mukkudai-kkals* i e, stones bearing the figure of the triple umbrella, such stones being characteristically Jaina in their origin (See P B Desai, *Op cit*, p 54 and footnote 1)

[Published in *Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkottai State*, p 658]

No. 84.

Tirupparuttikkuṉṟam, Kanchipuram Taluk, Chingleput District. On the base of the north wall of the store-room in the Vardhamāna temple

Dynasty: Saṅgama King Bukka II
Date: 1362 A.D. Language and Alphabet: Tamiḷ, Grantha

Purport. Records that the village of Mahēndramaṅgalam in the division of Māvaṇḍūr was granted to the temple by the minister Irugappa,, the son of general Vaicaya. The gift was made for the merit of the king.

TEXT

1. Savasti śrīḥ [| | *] Dundubhi-varṣam Kāttigai-mādattil Pūrvva-pakṣattu-Ttiṅgaṭ-kiḻamaiyum paurṇaiyum peṟṟa Tā(Kā)tti-
2 gai-nāḷ mahāmaṇḍalēśvaraṉ Arihararāja-kumāraṉ Śrīmat(d)-Bukkarājaṉ dharmmam-āga Vaicaya-daṇḍanātha- putraṉ
3 Jainōttamaṉ Iruguppa-mahāpradhāni Tirupparuttikkuṉṟu-nāyaṉār Trailōkyavallabharkku pūjaikku.
4 śālaikkum tiruppaṇikkum Māvaṇḍūr-ppaṟṟil Mahēndramaṅgalam nāṟ-pāṟk-ellaiyum iṟai-ili paḷḷiccandam-āga candrāditya-varaiyum naḍakka-ttaruvittār [| | *] Dharmmō-yañ-jayatu [| | *]

Notes: The fact that the deity Vardhamāna is herein called Trailōkyavallabha and as the lord (*nāyaṉār*) of Tirupparuttikkuṉṟu is noteworthy.

Irugappa, who is described in the present epigraph as *Jainōttamaṉ*, also figures in a Sanskrit inscription of Bukka II, dated in 1388 A D. (*Ep Ind.*, Vol VII, p. 116) from the same place.

[Published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 115]

No 85

Tirumalai, Polur Taluk, North Arcot District.
On the wall of a *maṇḍapa* at the base of the Tirumalai rock, to **the right of the entrance**

Dynasty: Śambuvarāya — King Rājanārāyaṇa
Date: Regnal year 12 (c 14th century A D) — Language and Alphabet; Tamiḷ, Tamiḷ and Grantha

Purport · Records the setting up of the *utsava-mūrti* (*Vihāra-nāyaṉār*) of Poṉṉeyil-nāthar on Vaigai-Tirumalai by Nallāttāḷ, the daughter of Maṇṇai-Poṉṉāṇḍai of Poṉṉūr

TEXT

1. Svasti śrī [| | *] Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarājarkku yā-
2. ṇḍu 12 vadu Poṉṉūr Maṇṇai Poṉṉāṇḍai
3. magaḷ Nallāttāḷ Vaigai-Ttirumalaikku ēṟiy-aruḷa-
4. ppaṇṇiṉa śrī-Vihāra-nāyaṉār Poṉṉeyil-
5. nāthar [| *] Dharmmō-yañ-jayatu [| | *]

Notes With Poṉṉeyil-nāthar, 'the lord of the golden fortress', compare Poṉṉeyirkōṉ which is the same as Aruhaṉ (*i e.*, Arhat). *Kōṉ* is only the Tamiḷ rendering of the Sanskrit word *nātha* "Poṉṉeyil-nātha means the 'Lord of the golden fortress', *i e*, the Arhat"- P.B Desai, *ibid*, p 45

[Published in *SII*, Vol I, No. 70]

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B

E

G

H

O

P